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THE STUDENT'S GIBBON

CONSTANTINOPLE—THE MOUTH OF THE GOLDEN HORN, FROM THE GALATA SIDE. [*Frontispiece.*

THE STUDENT'S GIBBON

A HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

ABRIDGED FROM THE ORIGINAL WORK BY SIR WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D.

A NEW AND REVISED EDITION, IN TWO PARTS

PART II.

FROM A.D. 565 TO THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1901

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

PREFACE.

THE second volume of the "Student's Gibbon" covers a period of nine centuries, and introduces the reader almost at once to the history of the so-called "Lower" Empire, of which Gibbon unfortunately formed so contemptuous a judgment (p. 38 ff.). The misfortune for the student lies less, perhaps, in the erroneousness of the judgment (which is now generally acknowledged, and was largely due to the inadequacy of the materials at the historian's command) than in its effect upon the method of this part of his work. The history of five and a half centuries (A.D. 641–1185) is resolved into a series of episodes divorced from their true setting, the continuous story of the East Roman Empire. Indeed, the setting can hardly be said to be given us at all. The internal history of the Empire during these centuries is dismissed in a single chapter which touches but the surface of things, "the revolutions of the throne, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death," giving no hint of those deeper influences which affected the domestic history no less than the foreign policy of the Empire; and of the external history there is no continuous narrative. The result is not that "each circumstance of the eventful story of the barbarians adapts itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals," but that it is difficult to obtain at any point a synoptic view, and that, amid the crowd of subordinate figures that monopolize the canvas, the central figure is

barely visible. In the present edition some attempt is made to minimize these defects, and to indicate the very important part played by the Eastern Empire, under its generally competent, frequently able, and occasionally brilliant rulers, in stemming and rolling back the flood of Mohammedan and barbarian invasion, and guarding throughout those dark ages, even if it did not improve, its unique inheritance of civilization and culture. The more deeply the student carries his study of "Byzantine" history, the more disposed he will be to echo the words of one of its greatest living exponents: "*Rien n'est plus captivant que d'étudier l'existence de cette prodigieuse monarchie, formée d'éléments si étrangement divers, héritière du vieil empire romain, à cheval sur les limites de l'Occident et de l'Orient, se défendant durant mille ans et plus avec une énergie sans pareille, toujours renaissante, contre l'effort infatigable des nations barbares coalisées.*" *

The present volume has been edited on the same general principles as its predecessor. The text differs to some extent from that of the original abridgment by Sir W. Smith. A few passages which were rewritten in the old edition have been restored to their original form, and the necessary comments subjoined in the notes or appendices; an occasional obscurity or an abruptness of transition has been removed by the addition of a sentence or two; and paragraphs have been added here and there, where some augmentation of the text seemed desirable: thus, for example, the fine description of the memorable siege of Constantinople in A.D. 1453 is now given very nearly in its entirety. Only in one or two places (indicated in the footnotes), where the statements in the original are certainly untenable, have I thought it better, in view of the purposes of this edition, to rewrite a few sentences than to retain the original text and be obliged to swell still further the

* M. G. Schlumberger, *Nicéphore Phocas*, p. i.

volume of notes, already bulky enough. A small number of oversights on Gibbon's part have been silently corrected.

Square brackets are employed in the text and margin, in the usual way, to indicate alterations or additions by the editor—generally an improved spelling of names, or a corrected or additional date. The question of the spelling of proper names (especially Oriental) has caused great difficulty. In an edition of this kind it would, perhaps, have been best simply to substitute the approved modern spelling in the case of all but a few names, which have become current in English, such as Saladin or Aladin. But, as this course might have been thought too bold, I have adopted the compromise of adding within square brackets the more correct form of the name, where it is first mentioned, except in the case of the few familiar Russian and unfamiliar Mongolian names that occur in the book, where it seemed worse than useless to reproduce antiquated spellings, like Kiow for Kiev, Wolodomir for Vladimir, or Zingis for Tchingis, Toushi for Juji. On the other hand, I did not feel it necessary to alter a Latinized form like Porphyrogenitus, which has obtained some currency in English. But I should have liked to eject *Mahomet*, as I have unhesitatingly ejected the purely false spelling *Bajazet*.

All the maps have been carefully prepared for this edition under my supervision; and in regard to them I think that even the most exacting reader will acknowledge the liberality of the Publishers. A word may be said about the map of the Empire (except Italy, for which see Map III.) in the tenth century. It is doubtless more elaborate than the bare needs of the book demanded; but if any reader is stimulated by the Student's Gibbon to further and deeper study, he will be grateful for a map which represents with, I hope, substantial accuracy the state of our knowledge at the end of 1899 (when the map was finished); here finality is still far distant.

There remains the pleasant duty of expressing my gratitude to those who have helped me in the matter of illustrations (the procuring of which has been the chief cause of the delay in the appearance of the volume): to the officials of the British Museum, who have supplied casts of coins and photographs of seals, etc.; to the officials of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, for like services; to M. Gustave Schlumberger and his publishers, MM. Firmin Didot, for permission, readily accorded, to reproduce illustrations from his beautiful works (see pp. 151, 152, 256); to Mr. R. Weir Schultz, who generously allowed me to publish two of his own plans and photographs of Byzantine Churches (pp. 162, 163), and supplied the note on p. 172; to Mr. W. R. Morfill, for procuring me the photograph of St. Sophia at Kiev; and to Mr. Phené Spiers, for the drawing on p. 24. To Mr. Franklin T. Richards I am indebted for some useful notes pointing out certain defects in the old edition, which arrived at the last moment to suggest an improvement here and there. Finally, I have to express my hearty thanks to Canon C. Evans for his careful revision of the whole of the proof-sheets.

J. G. C. A.

Oxford, January, 1901.

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ITALY
ABOUT A.D.600.
Exarchate of Italy
" Africa
Lombard Kingdom
English Miles
20 0 20 40 60 80 100
8
10
12
14
16
46
44
42
40
38
NEUSTRIA
AUSTRIA
VENETIA
LIGURIA
RAETIA PRIMA
ITALORUM
TUSCIA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MARE TYRRHENUM
MARE ADRIATICUM
AFRICA
Lacus Comacinus
Comum
Mediolanum
Taurinum
Segusium
Tapia
Cremona
Mantua
Brixellum
Verona
Patavium
Mons Silicis
Atheste
Adrice
Concordia
Aquileia
Forum Julii
Tergeste
Iustinopolis
Gradus
Umagum
Nemetes
Pola
Parma
Ferraria
Comiacum
Matina
Bononia
Ravenna
Genua
Luna
Portus Veneris
Ariminum
Pisaurum
Fanum
Senogallia
Ancona
Auximum
Nora
Iadera
Nicaea
Portus Herculis Monoeci
Pisae
Faesulae
Urbinum
Cales
Arretium
Eugubium
Tolentinum
Armium
Gergeni
Clusium
Ruzellae
Castro Traventino
Castro Novo
Spoletium
Ilva
Aleria
Centumcellae
Vicovarina
Ortona
Tiber
Romae
Portus Ostiae
Anagnia
Sora
Latiana
Patricum
Fundi
Terracina
Gaeta
Fermiae
Capua
Beneventum
Sipontum
Barium
Mola
Turris
Pausiana
Castrum Novum
Pulcra
Compsa
Matera
Brundusium
Orid.
Tarentum
Callipolis
Neapolis
Puteoli
Nuceria
Neapolis
Herculanum
Buxentum
Rhusiarum
Bisinianum
Consentia
Amantia
Tempsa
Tetrona
Scyllacium
Bibona
Tropaea
Nicotera
Taurianum
Locri
Rhegium
Messana
Tyndaris
Panormus
Eryx
Lilybaeum
Thermae
Halesa
Taurominium
Catana
Aetna Mns.
Syracusa
Leontini
Acragantus
Tarai
Aristianae
Caralis
Sulci
Ustica
Basilidia
Pelagosa
Diomedeae
Liparis
Vulcanos
SICILIA
APULIA
CALABRIA
LUCANIA
BRUTII
DUC. ROMANUS
DUC. BENEVENTANUS
DUC. SPOLETANUS
DUC. CLUSINUS
PICENUM

Front face of the Altar of the Lombard King Ratchis (A.D. 744–749), at Cividale in Friuli.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

REIGNS OF JUSTIN II., TIBERIUS II., MAURICE, PHOCAS, AND HERACLIUS: THE LOMBARDS AND THE PERSIAN WARS.

§ 1. Accession of Justin II.: the Avars. § 2. Embassies of the Turks and Romans (A.D. 569–582). § 3. The Gepidæ and Lombards. § 4. The Lombards and Avars destroy the kingdom of the Gepidæ (A.D. 567). § 5. Alboin undertakes the conquest of Italy (A.D. 568). § 6. Conquest of a great part of Italy by the Lombards (A.D. 568–570). § 7. Alboin murdered by his wife Rosamond (A.D. 573). § 8. Her flight and death: Clepho, king of the Lombards (A.D. 573, Aug.). § 9. Weakness of the emperor Justin: association of Tiberius (A.D. 574, Dec.). § 10. Reign of Tiberius II. (A.D. 578–582). § 11. Reign of Maurice (A.D. 582–602): Autharis, king of the Lombards (A.D. 584–590). § 12. Division of Italy between the Exarchate of Ravenna and the kingdom of the Lombards. § 13. Language and manners of the Lombards: their government and laws. § 14. Misery of Rome: birth and profession of Gregory. § 15. Pontificate of Gregory I., the Great (A.D. 590–604). § 16. His temporal government. § 17. Renewal of the war with Persia: revolutions in Persia (A.D. 579–591). § 18. Wars with the Avars (A.D. 581–602). § 19. Rebellion of the Roman army: death of Maurice and elevation of Phocas (A.D. 602).

* It represents a sitting figure of Christ raising his hand in benediction, with a six-winged seraph on either side, enclosed in an oval formed by four palm-branches borne by four angels.

§ 20. Reign of Phocas: his fall and death: elevation of Heraclius (A.D. 610). § 21. Chosroes II. invades the Roman Empire (A.D. 603, etc.). § 22. Reign and magnificence of Chosroes. § 23. Distress of Heraclius. § 24. His preparations for war (A.D. 621). § 25. First expedition of Heraclius against the Persians (A.D. 622). § 26. His second expedition (A.D. 624–626). § 27. Deliverance of Constantinople from the Persians and Avars (A.D. 626). § 28. His third expedition (A.D. 626–627). § 29. Chosroes is deposed and murdered by his son Siroes (A.D. 628). § 30. Treaty of peace between the two empires (A.D. 628).

Accession of Justin II.: the Avars.

§ 1. JUSTINIAN was succeeded on the throne by his nephew Justin II., the son of Vigilantia (A.D. 565, Nov. 15). The first year of the new reign was marked by a union of the formidable forces of the AVARS and LOMBARDS.

In the 31st year of the reign of Justinian (A.D. 558) an embassy of the Avars appeared at Constantinople. This people, who belonged, like the Huns, to the Turkish stock,* had then arrived at the foot of Mount Caucasus, flying before the TURKS, whose name now appears for the first time in history. The Avar ambassadors professed their willingness to devote themselves to the service of the emperor, and destroy all the enemies who disturbed his repose; but they claimed as the price of their alliance, and the reward of their valour, precious gifts, annual subsidies, and fruitful possessions. Justinian was now above 75 years: his mind, as well as his body, was feeble and languid; and the conqueror of Africa and Italy, careless of the permanent interest of his people, aspired only to end his days in the bosom even of inglorious peace. In a studied oration, he imparted to the senate his resolution to dissemble the insult and to purchase the friendship of the Avars; and the whole senate, like the mandarins of China, applauded the incomparable wisdom and foresight of their sovereign. As their destruction or their success must be alike advantageous to the empire, he persuaded them to invade the enemies of Rome; and they were easily tempted, by gifts and promises, to gratify their ruling inclinations. These fugitives, who fled before the Turkish arms, passed the Tanais (Don) and Borysthenes (Dnieper), and boldly advanced into the heart of Poland and Germany, violating the law of nations and abusing the rights of victory. Before ten years had elapsed their camps were seated on the Danube and the Elbe,† many Bulgarian and Slavonian names were obliterated from the earth, and the remainder of their tribes are found, as tributaries and vassals, under the standard of the Avars. The Chagan, the peculiar title of their king, still affected to cultivate the friendship of the emperor; and Justinian entertained some thoughts of fixing them in Pannonia, to balance the prevailing power of the Lombards. But the virtue or

* See vol. i. p. 229.

† Their settlements were in Hungary, but their sway extended over the Slavs of Bohemia and Galicia.

treachery of an Avar betrayed the ambitious designs of his countrymen; and they loudly complained of the jealous policy of detaining their ambassadors.

Embassies of the Turks and Romans (A.D. 569–582).

§ 2. Perhaps the apparent change in the dispositions of the emperors may be ascribed to the embassy which was received from the conquerors of the Avars. The immense distance which eluded the arms of the Turks could not extinguish their resentment. Dizabul [Silzibul], the khan of the Turks, dwelt at the foot of Mount Altai, a ridge of mountains situated at an equal distance of 2000 miles from the Caspian, the Icy, the Chinese, and the Bengal seas.* From this distant quarter the ambassadors of Dizabul pursued the footsteps of the vanquished to the Jaik (Ural), the Volga, Mount Caucasus, the Euxine, and Constantinople, and at length appeared before the successor of Constantine, to request that he would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives, and to offer the friendship and military aid of the Turks. The Greek prince entertained with hospitable regard the ambassadors of a remote and powerful monarch: he renounced, or seemed to renounce, the fugitive Avars, but he accepted the alliance of the Turks; and the ratification of the treaty was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of Mount Altai. Under the successors of Justinian the friendship of the two nations was cultivated by frequent and cordial intercourse; the most favoured vassals were permitted to imitate the example of the great khan; and one hundred and six Turks, who on various occasions had visited Constantinople, departed at the same time for their native country.

The Gepidæ and Lombards.

§ 3. The important barrier of the Upper Danube, which had been faithfully guarded by Theodoric and his daughter, was abolished by the Gothic victories of Belisarius. For the defence of Italy, the Goths evacuated Pannonia and Noricum: the sovereignty was claimed by the emperor of the Romans; but the vacant fortifications were instantly occupied by the Gepidæ, who had, since the death of Attila, possessed on the opposite banks of the Danube the plains of Upper Hungary and the Transylvanian hills, and their standards were planted on the walls of Sirmium† and Belgrade. Instead of asserting the rights of a sovereign for the protection of his subjects, the emperor invited a strange people to invade and possess the Roman provinces between the Danube and the Alps; and the ambition of the Gepidæ was checked by the rising power and fame of the Lombards. This corrupt appellation has been diffused in the

* There were two khanates at this time, a northern one round Altai (under Silzibul) and a southern one in the Chinese province of Kansuh, north of the Koko-nor mountains. The latter was the more important of the two. See Parker, in *English Historical Review*, 1896, p. 431 ff.; Bury, *ibid.*, 1897, p. 417 ff.

† Mod. Mitrovitza. Belgrade is anc. Singidunum. The Gepid kingdom, however, did not extend west or south of the Danube, and the country actually *occupied* by them lay between the Danube and the Theiss.

thirteenth century by the merchants and bankers, the Italian posterity of these savage warriors; but the original name of *Langobards* is expressive only of the peculiar length and fashion of their beards. About the time of Augustus and Trajan they are discovered, for the first time, between the Elbe and the Oder. Thence they gradually descended towards the south and the Danube, and at the end of four hundred years they again appear with their ancient valour and renown. At the solicitation of Justinian, they passed the Danube to reduce, according to their treaty, the cities of Noricum and the fortresses of Pannonia. But the spirit of rapine soon tempted them beyond these ample limits; they wandered along the coast of the Adriatic as far as Dyrrachium, and presumed, with familiar rudeness, to enter the towns and houses of their Roman allies, and to seize the captives who had escaped from their audacious hands. These acts of hostility, the sallies, as it might be pretended, of some loose adventurers, were disowned by the nation, and excused by the emperor; but the arms of the Lombards were more seriously engaged by a contest of thirty years, which was terminated only by the extirpation of the Gepidæ. The hostile nations often pleaded their cause before the throne of Constantinople; and the crafty Justinian, to whom the barbarians were almost equally odious, pronounced a partial and ambiguous sentence, and dexterously protracted the war by slow and ineffectual succours.

The Lombards and Avars destroy the kingdom of the Gepidæ [A.D. 567].

§ 4. Alboin had succeeded his father Audoin as king of the Lombards. During the lifetime of his father the youthful Alboin had visited the court of the Gepidæ, where he had probably seen the daughter of Cunimund, who soon after ascended the throne of the Gepidæ. Her name was Rosamond, an appellation expressive of female beauty, which our own history or romance has consecrated to amorous tales. Alboin was contracted to the grand-daughter of Clovis; but the restraints of faith and policy soon yielded to the hope of possessing the fair Rosamond, and of insulting her family and nation. The arts of persuasion were tried without success; and the impatient lover, by force and stratagem, obtained the object of his desires. War was the consequence which he foresaw and solicited; but the Lombards could not long withstand the furious assault of the Gepidæ, who were sustained by a Roman army. And, as the offer of marriage was rejected with contempt, Alboin was compelled to relinquish his prey, and to partake of the disgrace which he had inflicted on the house of Cunimund. The king of the Lombards now condescended to implore the formidable aid of the Chagan of the Avars, which was granted on the condition that the Lombards should immediately present him with the tithe of their cattle; that the spoils and captives should be equally divided; and that the lands of the Gepidæ should become the sole patrimony of the Avars. Such hard conditions were eagerly accepted by the passions of Alboin; and, as the

Romans were dissatisfied with the ingratitude and perfidy of the Gepidæ, Justin abandoned that incorrigible people to their fate, and remained the tranquil spectator of this unequal conflict. The courage of the Gepidæ could secure them no more than an honourable death. The bravest of the nation fell in the field of battle: the king of the Lombards contemplated with delight the head of Cunimund, and his skull was fashioned into a cup to satiate the hatred of the conqueror, or perhaps to comply with the savage custom of his country* [A.D. 567]. After this victory no farther obstacle could impede the progress of the confederates, and they faithfully executed the terms of their agreement. The fair countries of Walachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the parts of Hungary beyond the Danube, were occupied without resistance by a new colony of Scythians;† and the Dacian empire of the Chagans subsisted with splendour above 230 years. The nation of the Gepidæ was dissolved. The fair Rosamond was persuaded or compelled to acknowledge the rights of her victorious lover; and the daughter of Cunimund appeared to forgive those crimes which might be imputed to her own irresistible charms.

Alboin undertakes the conquest of Italy [A.D. 568].

§ 5. The destruction of a mighty kingdom established the fame of Alboin. In the days of Charlemagne the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the other tribes of the Teutonic language, still repeated the songs which described the heroic virtues, the valour, liberality, and fortune of the king of the Lombards. But his ambition was yet unsatisfied; and the conqueror of the Gepidæ turned his eyes from the Danube to the richer banks of the Po and the Tiber. No sooner had he erected his standard than the native strength of the Lombards was multiplied by the adventurous youth of Germany and Scythia [A.D. 568]. The Lombards and their confederates were united by their common attachment to a chief who excelled in all the virtues and vices of a savage hero; and the vigilance of Alboin provided an ample magazine of offensive and defensive arms for the use of the expedition. They might have failed if Narses had been the antagonist of the Lombards. But the weakness of the Byzantine court was subservient to the barbarian cause; and it was for the ruin of Italy that the emperor once listened to the complaints of his subjects. The virtues of Narses were stained with avarice; and in his provincial reign of fifteen years he accumulated a treasure of gold and silver which surpassed the modesty of a private fortune. His government was oppressive or unpopular, and the general discontent was expressed with freedom by the deputies of Rome. Before the throne of Justin they boldly declared that their Gothic servitude had been more tolerable than the despotism of a Greek eunuch; and that,

* Cf. ch. xxx. § 2, where the emperor Nicephorus suffers a similar fate at the hands of the Bulgarians.

† On this use of "Scythian," see vol. i. p. 78.

unless their tyrant were instantly removed, they would consult their own happiness in the choice of a master. The apprehension of a revolt was urged by the voice of envy and detraction, which had so recently triumphed over the merit of Belisarius. A new exarch,* Longinus, was appointed to supersede the conqueror of Italy; and the base motives of his recall were revealed in the insulting mandate of the empress Sophia, "that he should leave to *men* the exercise of arms, and return to his proper station among the maidens of the palace, where a distaff† should be again placed in the hand of the eunuch." "I will spin her such a thread as she shall not easily unravel!" is said to have been the reply which indignation and conscious virtue extorted from the hero. Instead of attending, a slave and a victim, at the gate of the Byzantine palace, he retired to Naples, from whence (if any credit is due to the belief of the times) Narses invited the Lombards to chastise the ingratitude of the prince and people. But the passions of the people are furious and changeable, and the Romans soon recollected the merits, or dreaded the resentment, of their victorious general. By the mediation of the pope, who undertook a special pilgrimage to Naples, their repentance was accepted; and Narses, assuming a milder aspect and a more dutiful language, consented to fix his residence in the Capitol. His death, though in the extreme period of old age, was unseasonable and premature, since *his* genius alone could have repaired the last and fatal error of his life. The reality, or the suspicion, of a conspiracy disarmed and disunited the Italians. The soldiers resented the disgrace, and bewailed the loss, of their general. They were ignorant of their new exarch; and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province.

Conquest of a great part of Italy by the Lombards (A.D. 568–570).

§ 6. Whatever might be the grounds of his security, Alboin neither expected nor encountered a Roman army in the field. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which his victory communicated the perpetual appellation of LOMBARDY. Terror preceded his march: he found everywhere, or he left, a dreary solitude; and the pusillanimous Italians presumed, without a trial, that the stranger was invincible. Escaping to lakes, or rocks, or morasses, the affrighted crowds concealed some fragments of their wealth, and delayed the moment of their servitude. The patriarch of Aquileia fled with his treasures to Grado, and Honoratus, bishop of Milan, with the clergy and nobles of the

* Rather *magister militum* with title *Patricius*. The governor of Italy was not called "exarch" (ἔξαρχος) until the reign of Maurice (582–602). The first mention of the name occurs in the year 584 B.C. (see Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 478). The exarch had much wider powers than the older *magister militum*, and absorbed many of the functions of the civil governor, the *præfectus prætorio* (ἔπαρχος). (On these magistrates, cf. vol. i. pp. 160–162.)

† Cf. § 18 below, and Herodotus, iv. 162.

town, were driven to seek refuge in Genoa. Along the maritime coast the courage of the inhabitants was supported by the facility of supply, the hopes of relief, and the power of escape; but, from the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome, the inland regions of Italy became, without a battle or a siege, the lasting patrimony of the Lombards.* The submission of the people invited the barbarian to assume the character of a lawful sovereign, and the helpless exarch was confined to the office of announcing to the emperor Justin the rapid and irretrievable loss of his provinces and cities. One city, which had been diligently fortified by the Goths, resisted the arms of a new invader; and, while Italy was subdued by the flying detachments of the Lombards, the royal camp was fixed above three years before the western gate of Ticinum, or Pavia. Famine at length obliged the inhabitants to surrender: Alboin, delighted with the situation of a city which was endeared to his pride by the difficulty of the purchase, disdained the ancient glories of Milan; and Pavia during some ages was respected as the capital of the kingdom of Italy.

Alboin murdered by his wife Rosamond (A.D. 573).

§ 7. The reign of the founder was splendid and transient; and, before he could regulate his new conquests, Alboin fell a sacrifice to domestic treason and female revenge. In a palace near Verona, which had not been erected for the barbarians, he feasted the companions of his arms; intoxication was the reward of valour, and the king himself was tempted by appetite or vanity to exceed the ordinary measure of his intemperance. After draining many capacious bowls of Rhætian or Falernian wine he called for the skull of Cunimund, the noblest and most precious ornament of his sideboard. The cup of victory was accepted with horrid applause by the circle of the Lombard chiefs. "Fill it again with wine!" exclaimed the inhuman conqueror, "fill it to the brim! carry this goblet to the queen, and request in my name that she would rejoice with her father." In an agony of grief and rage, Rosamond had strength to utter, "Let the will of my lord be obeyed!" and, touching it with her lips, pronounced a silent imprecation that the insult should be washed away in the blood of Alboin. Some indulgence might be due to the resentment of a daughter, if she had not already violated the duties of a wife. Implacable in her enmity, or inconstant in her love, the queen of Italy had stooped from the throne to the arms of a subject, and Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder he could no

* This is a slight exaggeration. Patavium, Cremona, and some other towns were not taken for many years. Alboin did not get further than Etruria (Tuscany), but the Lombard chiefs penetrated southwards, and formed the duchies of Spoletium (Spoleto) and Beneventum (Benevento), where the cities were defenceless and easily captured. These duchies grew by encroaching on Roman territory, and, being separated from the rest of the Lombard territory, became independent powers.

longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; one of the bravest champions of the Lombards was forced by the queen's wiles to become an associate in the enterprise; and Rosamond soon found a favourable moment, when the king, oppressed with wine, had retired from the table to his afternoon slumbers. After lulling him to rest, she unbolted the chamber-door and urged the reluctant conspirators to the instant execution of the deed. On the first alarm the warrior started from his couch: his sword, which he attempted to draw, had been fastened to the scabbard by the hand of Rosamond; and a small stool, his only weapon, could not long protect him from the spears of the assassins (A.D. 573). The daughter of Cunimund smiled in his fall: his body was buried under the staircase of the palace; and the grateful posterity of the Lombards revered the tomb and the memory of their victorious leader.

Her flight and death: Clepho, king of the Lombards (A.D. 573, Aug.).

§ 8. The ambitious Rosamond aspired to reign in the name of her lover; the city and palace of Verona were awed by her power; and a faithful band of her native Gepidæ was prepared to applaud the revenge and to second the wishes of their sovereign. But the Lombard chiefs, who fled in the first moments of consternation and disorder, had resumed their courage and collected their powers; and the nation, instead of submitting to her reign, demanded with unanimous cries that justice should be executed on the guilty spouse and the murderers of their king. She sought a refuge among the enemies of her country, and a criminal who deserved the abhorrence of mankind was protected by the selfish policy of the exarch. With her daughter, the heiress of the Lombard throne, her lover, Helmichis her trusty Gepidæ, and the spoils of the palace of Verona, Rosamond descended the Adige and the Po, and was transported by a Greek vessel to the safe harbour of Ravenna. Longinus beheld with delight the charms and the treasures of the widow of Alboin; and she readily listened to the passion of a minister who, even in the decline of the empire, was respected as the equal of kings. The death of a jealous lover was an easy and grateful sacrifice, and as Helmichis issued from the bath he received the deadly potion from the hand of his mistress. The taste of the liquor, its speedy operation, and his experience of the character of Rosamond, convinced him that he was poisoned; he pointed his dagger to her breast, compelled her to drain the remainder of the cup, and expired in a few minutes with the consolation that she could not survive to enjoy the fruits of her wickedness. The daughter of Alboin and Rosamond, with the richest spoils of the Lombards, was sent to Constantinople. By the free suffrage of the nation in the assembly of Pavia, Clepho, one of their noblest chiefs, was elected as the successor of Alboin (A.D. 573). Before the end of eighteen months the throne was polluted by a second murder: Clepho was stabbed by the hand of a domestic; the regal office was suspended above ten years during the minority of his son Autharis (A.D. 574–584), and Italy

was divided and oppressed by a ducal aristocracy of thirty tyrants.

§ 9. When the nephew of Justinian ascended the throne, he proclaimed a new era of happiness and glory; but the annals of the second Justin are marked with disgrace abroad and misery at home. In the West the Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. Injustice prevailed both in the capital and the provinces: the rich trembled for their property, the poor for their safety; the ordinary magistrates were ignorant or venal.* Justin, whose faculties had been impaired by disease, determined to lay down the weight of the diadem, and at the suggestion of his wife Sophia appointed as his successor Tiberius, his faithful captain of the guards† (A.D. 574). The four last years of the emperor Justin were passed in tranquil obscurity: his conscience was no longer tormented by the remembrance of those duties which he was incapable of discharging, and his choice was justified by the filial reverence and gratitude of Tiberius (A.D. 574–578).

Weakness of the emperor Justin: association of Tiberius (A.D. 574, Dec.).

§ 10. Tiberius owed his elevation to the influence of Sophia; and the widow of Justin was persuaded that she should preserve her station and influence under the reign of a second and more youthful husband. But if the ambitious candidate had been tempted to flatter and dissemble, it was no longer in his power to fulfil her expectations or his own promise. The factions of the hippodrome demanded with some impatience the name of their new empress: both the people and Sophia were astonished by the proclamation of Anastasia, the secret though lawful wife of the emperor Tiberius.‡ Whatever could alleviate the disappointment of Sophia, imperial honours, a stately palace, a numerous household, was liberally bestowed by the piety of her adopted son; but while she accepted and repaid with a courtly smile the fair expressions of regard and confidence, a secret alliance was concluded between the dowager empress and her ancient enemies; and Justinian, the son of Germanus, was employed as the instrument of her revenge. He had been entrusted by Tiberius with the command of the eastern army. The Persian monarch fled before his arms, and the acclamations which accompanied his triumph declared him worthy of the purple.

Reign of Tiberius II. (A.D. 578–582).

* The prevailing corruption and contempt of law are largely to be charged against the aristocratic classes, who had become insubordinate and aggressive during Justinian's latter years. Justin made great efforts to enforce justice and uphold the law, but was not strong enough to cope with the evil. He was, however, responsible for the religious persecution in the Eastern provinces, which began about A.D. 572. Cf. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 73 ff., 210.

† *Comes excubitorum* (κόμης ἐκσκουβιτόρων).

‡ Her name was Ino. The Syriac history of John of Ephesus (see Bibliography) shows that her existence was well known both to Sophia and to the people. The disturbance in the hippodrome was about the choice of her imperial name.

His artful patroness had chosen the month of the vintage, while the emperor in a rural solitude was permitted to enjoy the pleasures of a subject. On the first intelligence of her designs he returned to Constantinople, and the conspiracy was suppressed by his presence and firmness. From the pomp and honours which she had abused, Sophia was reduced to a modest allowance. But the services of Justinian were not considered by that excellent prince as an aggravation of his offences; and after a mild reproof his treason and ingratitude were forgiven. With the odious name of Tiberius the emperor assumed the more popular appellation of Constantine, and imitated the purer virtues of the Antonines. After recording the vice or folly of so many Roman princes, it is pleasing to repose for a moment on a character conspicuous by the qualities of humanity, justice, temperance, and fortitude; to contemplate a sovereign affable in his palace, pious in the church, impartial on the seat of judgment, and victorious, at least by his generals, in the Persian war. For the relief of his subjects he was impatient to remit the arrears of the past or the demands of future taxes; and his wise and equitable laws excited the praise and regret of succeeding times.* The Romans of the East would have been happy if the best gift of heaven, a patriot king, had been confirmed as a proper and permanent blessing. But in less than four years after the death of Justin, his worthy successor sunk into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to restore the diadem, according to the tenure by which he held it, to the most deserving of his fellow-citizens. He selected Maurice from the crowd, a judgment more precious than the purple itself, and bestowed on him his daughter Constantina and the empire. The memory of Tiberius was embalmed by the public affliction; but the most sincere grief evaporates in the tumult of a new reign, and the eyes and acclamations of mankind were speedily directed to the rising sun (A.D. 582).

Reign of Maurice (A.D. 582–602): Autharis, king of the Lombards (A.D. 584–590).

§ 11. The emperor Maurice derived his origin from ancient Rome, but his immediate parents were settled at Arabissos † in Cappadocia. His youth was spent in the profession of arms; Tiberius promoted him to the command of a new and favourite legion of fifteen thousand confederates;‡ his valour and conduct were signalised in the Persian war; and he returned to Constantinople to accept, as his just reward, the inheritance of the

* This estimate is too favourable. His liberality was really an intemperate extravagance which exhausted the treasury and brought on his successor Maurice the odium of a "parsimony" which was only necessary economy (see John of Ephesus, iii. 11, v. 20, etc.).

† So attached was Maurice to his birthplace that he wished to make it a splendid city. When his buildings were far advanced they were destroyed by an earthquake, but he ordered them to be rebuilt. Arabissos (mod. Yarpuz) became a famous fortress during the Saracen wars, commanding as it did the great pass over Mt. Tauros to Germaniceia (Marash).

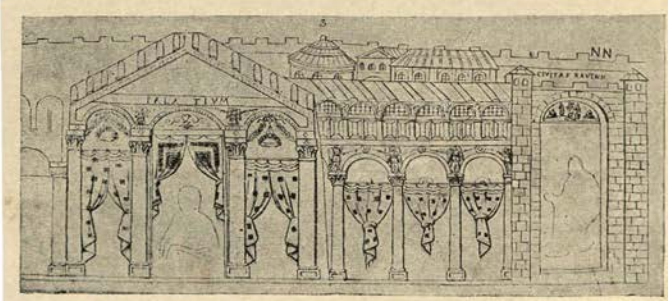
‡ They were a body of foreign slaves. Cf. the Turkish Janissaries (ch. xxxvi. § 11).

empire. Maurice ascended the throne at the mature age of 43 years; and he reigned above twenty years (A.D. 582–602) over the East and over himself. He enjoyed the glory of restoring the Persian monarch to his throne; his lieutenants waged a doubtful war against the Avars of the Danube; and he cast an eye of pity, of ineffectual pity, on the abject and distressful state of his Italian provinces. From Italy the emperors were incessantly tormented by demands of succour from the sword of the Lombards. In the reign of Tiberius Rome was besieged and distressed by famine; a supply of corn was sent for its relief, and the barbarians were repulsed. But the danger was perpetual and pressing: another mission was dispatched under the patrician Pamphronius to entreat the assistance of the emperor, but the forces of the East were occupied with the Persian and Avaric wars, and Tiberius advised the patrician either to bribe the Lombard chiefs or to purchase the aid of the Franks [A.D. 577]. Rome, however, was again besieged by the Duke of Spoleto, who even penetrated within three miles of Ravenna [A.D. 579]. Maurice sought the aid of the Franks of Austrasia, who maintained friendly relations with the Byzantine court, and Childebert, the great grandson of Clovis [Chlodovech or Chlodwig], the last of the Merovingian race, was persuaded to invade Italy by the payment of 50,000 gold pieces (*solidi*). The dukes of the Lombards had provoked by frequent inroads their powerful neighbours of Gaul. As soon as they were apprehensive of a just retaliation, they renounced their feeble and disorderly independence; the advantages of regal government, union, secrecy, and vigour, were unanimously confessed; and Autharis, the son of Clepho, had already attained the strength and reputation of a warrior. Under the standard of their new king (who reigned A.D. 584–590) the conquerors of Italy withstood three successive invasions, one of which was led by Childebert himself, who descended from the Alps. The first expedition was defeated by the jealous animosity of the Franks and Alemanni [A.D. 586]. In the second [A.D. 588] they were vanquished in a bloody battle, with more loss and dishonour than they had sustained since the foundation of their monarchy. Impatient for revenge, they returned a third time [A.D. 590] with accumulated force, and Autharis yielded to the fury of the torrent. The troops and treasures of the Lombards were distributed in the walled towns between the Alps and the Apennines; and the Franks at length evacuated the country, after suffering the vicissitudes of intemperance and famine. The victorious Autharis asserted his claim to the dominion of Italy. At the foot of the Rhætian Alps, he subdued the resistance, and rifled the hidden treasures, of a sequestered island in the lake of Comum. At the extreme point of Calabria, he is said to have touched with his spear a column on the seashore of Rhegium, proclaiming that ancient landmark to stand the immovable boundary of his kingdom.

§ 12. During a period of 200 years Italy was unequally

Division of Italy between the exarchate of Ravenna and the kingdom of the Lombards.

divided between the kingdom of the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna. The offices and professions which the jealousy of Constantine had separated were united by the indulgence of Justinian ; * and eighteen successive exarchs were invested, in the decline of the empire, with the full remains of civil, of military, and even of ecclesiastical power. Their immediate jurisdiction, which was afterwards consecrated as the patrimony of St. Peter, extended over the modern Romagna, the marshes or valleys of Ferrara and Commachio, five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and a second inland Pentapolis,† between the Adriatic coast and the hills of the Apennines.‡ Three subordinate provinces, of Rome, of Venice and Istria, and of Naples, which were divided by hostile lands from the palace of Ravenna, acknowledged, both in peace and war, the supremacy of the exarch. The duchy of Rome appears to have included the Tuscan, Sabine, and Latin conquests of the first 400



Palace of the Exarch at Ravenna (from a mosaic in the Church of St. Apollinare Nuovo).

years of the city, and the limits may be distinctly traced along the coast, from Civita Vecchia (Centumcellæ) to Terracina, and with the course of the Tiber from Ameria and Narni to the port of Ostia. The three islands of Sardinia, Corsica,§ and Sicily still adhered to the empire ; and the acquisition of the

* See note on § 5, above.

† Viz. Urbinum, Forum Sempronii, Æsis, Callis, and Eugubium ; but they are not designated by the name "Pentapolis" before Carolingian times.

‡ The exarchate of Ravenna, properly so called, denoted the region round Ravenna extending between the rivers Adige (Athesis) and Marrechia (Ariminus), and it owed its name (exarchate) to the fact that it was under the *direct* government of the exarch. The two *pentapoleis* were included under the Duchy of Pentapolis, and were not under the direct jurisdiction of the exarch. "Exarchate of Ravenna," however, came to be used also as a general name for the Byzantine possessions in Italy, which were all under the authority of the exarch.

§ Corsica and Sardinia belonged to the exarchate of Africa until it was lost to the Saracens at the end of the seventh century.

farther Calabria* removed the landmark of Autharis from the shore of Rhegium to the isthmus of Consentia. Rome was oppressed by the iron sceptre of the exarchs, and a Greek, perhaps an eunuch, insulted with impunity the ruins of the Capitol. But Naples soon acquired the privilege of electing her own dukes; the independence of Amalphi was the fruit of commerce; and the voluntary attachment of Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the Eastern empire. The remainder of Italy was possessed by the Lombards; and from Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avars, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Austrasia and Burgundy.

Language and manners of the Lombards.

§ 13. In comparing the proportion of the victorious and the vanquished people, the change of language will afford the most probable inference. According to this standard it will appear that the Lombards of Italy, and the Visigoths of Spain, were less numerous than the Franks or Burgundians; and the conquerors of Gaul must yield, in their turn, to the multitude of Saxons and Angles who almost eradicated the idioms of Britain. The modern Italian has been insensibly formed by the mixture of nations; the awkwardness of the barbarians in the nice management of declensions and conjugations reduced them to the use of articles and auxiliary verbs; and many new ideas have been expressed by Teutonic appellations. Yet the principal stock of technical and familiar words is found to be of Latin derivation;† and, if we were sufficiently conversant with the obsolete, the rustic, and the municipal dialects of ancient Italy, we should trace the origin of many terms which might, perhaps, be rejected by the classic purity of Rome. A numerous army constitutes but a small nation, and the numbers of the Lombards were soon diminished by the retreat of 20,000 Saxons, who scorned a dependent situation, and returned to their native country. The camp of Alboin was of formidable extent, but the extent of a camp would be easily circumscribed within the limits of a city; and its martial inhabitants must be thinly scattered over the face of a large country. The leaders of the Lombards settled as dukes, each in his appointed district, with a band of followers who resorted to his standard in war and his tribunal in

* *I.e.* the "toe" of Italy, the ancient Bruttii (which had not really been conquered by Autharis). The transference of the name Calabria from the "heel" of Italy to the "toe" was the result of the shrinking of the bounds of the Imperial territory. *Calabria* was the name of the province including Calabria Proper, part of Apulia, and Bruttii; and when the greater part of the "heel" was conquered by the Lombards towards the end of the seventh century, the provincial name was still used to denote the shrunken dominions, viz. Bruttii (and a few places on the coast), and has remained attached to that district down to the present day. Cf. the transference of the name "Cappadocian Theme" to a district which was mostly in Galatia and Lycaonia, or "Macedonian Theme" to a district in Thrace (ch. xxix., Appendix and Map).

† Cf. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. pp. 317, 329.

peace. A Lombard was born the soldier of his king and his duke; and the civil assemblies of the nation displayed the banners, and assumed the appellation, of a regular army. Of this army the pay and the rewards were drawn from the conquered provinces. Many of the most wealthy Italians were

Lombard Architecture: the Cathedral at Lucca, erected A.D. 1060–1070 (the façade added A.D. 1204).

slain or banished; the remainder were divided among the strangers, and a tributary obligation was imposed (under the name of hospitality) of paying to the Lombards a third part of the fruits of the earth; but, within less than 70 years, a more solid tenure was adopted, whereby the annual payment of a third of the produce was exchanged for an adequate proportion

of landed property, and agriculture was carried on by the labour of slaves.

Their government and laws.

The Lombards possessed freedom to elect their sovereign, and sense to decline the frequent use of that dangerous privilege. The king of Italy convened the national assemblies in the palace, or more probably in the fields, of Pavia; his great council was composed of the persons most eminent by their birth and dignities; but the validity, as well as the execution of their decrees, depended on the approbation of the *faithful* people, the *fortunate* army of the Lombards. About fourscore years after the conquest of Italy their traditional customs were transcribed in Teutonic Latin, and ratified by the consent of the prince and people; the example of Rotharis was imitated by the wisest of his successors; and the Laws of the Lombards have been esteemed the least imperfect of the barbaric codes.* Whatever merit may be discovered in them, they are the genuine fruit of the wisdom of the barbarians, who never admitted the bishops of Italy to a seat in their legislative councils. The succession of the Lombard kings is marked with virtue and ability; the troubled series of their annals is adorned with fair intervals of peace, order, and domestic happiness; and the Italians enjoyed a milder and more equitable government than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the Western empire.

Misery of Rome: birth and profession of Gregory.

§ 14. Amidst the arms of the Lombards, and under the despotism of the Greeks, we again inquire into the fate of Rome, which had reached, about the close of the sixth century, the lowest period of her depression. By the removal of the seat of empire and the successive loss of the provinces, the sources of public and private opulence were exhausted: the lofty tree, under whose shade the nations of the earth had reposed, was deprived of its leaves and branches, and the sapless trunk was left to wither on the ground. Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion. According to the tradition of the church, St. Peter and St. Paul had been executed in the circus of Nero, and at the end of 500 years their genuine or fictitious relics were adored as the Palladium of Christian Rome. But the power as well as virtue of the apostles resided with living energy in the breast of their successors; and

* The Laws of the Lombards have come down to us in two collections, one historical and the other systematic. The historical collection follows the order of the kings in whose reigns the laws were promulgated. It contains first the laws of five native kings, Rotharis (A.D. 643), Grimowald (668), Liutprand (713–735), Ratchis (746), Aistulf (754), and then the laws of Charlemagne and his successors down to Lothaire II. The systematic collection contains the same laws as the preceding, only arranged in a systematic instead of a chronological order. They are published in Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, Leges, vol. iv. For the first three legislators, see Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. vi. p. 174 ff., 291 f., and 389 ff.

the chair of St. Peter was filled under the reign of Maurice by the first and greatest of the name of Gregory. His birth and abilities had raised him to the office of præfect of the city, and he enjoyed the merit of renouncing the pomp and vanities of this world. As soon as he had received the character of deacon, Gregory was sent to reside at the Byzantine court, the nuncio or minister of the apostolic see [A.D. 579]; and he boldly assumed, in the name of St. Peter, a tone of independent dignity which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious layman of the empire. He returned to Rome with a just increase of reputation, and, after a short exercise of the monastic virtues, he was dragged from the cloister to the papal throne by the unanimous voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people.

Pontificate of Gregory I. the Great (A.D. 590–604).

§ 15. The pontificate of Gregory the *Great*, which lasted 13 years (A.D. 590–604), is one of the most edifying periods of the history of the Church. His virtues, and even his faults, a singular mixture of simplicity and cunning, of pride and humility, of sense and superstition, were happily suited to his station and to the temper of the times. In his rival, the patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the antichristian title of universal [Ecumenical] bishop, which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede and too feeble to assume; and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory was confined to the triple character of Bishop of Rome, Primate of Italy, and Apostle of the West. He frequently ascended the pulpit, and kindled, by his rude though pathetic eloquence, the congenial passions of his audience: the language of the Jewish prophets was interpreted and applied; and the minds of a people, depressed by their present calamities, were directed to the hopes and fears of the invisible world. His precepts and example defined the model of the Roman liturgy; the distribution of the parishes, the calendar of festivals, the order of processions, the service of the priests and deacons, the variety and change of sacerdotal garments. Till the last days of his life he officiated in the canon of the mass, which continued above three hours: the Gregorian chant has preserved the vocal and instrumental music of the theatre, and the rough voices of the barbarians attempted to imitate the melody of the Roman school. Under his reign the Arians of Italy and Spain were reconciled to the catholic church, and the conquest of Britain reflects less glory on the name of Cæsar than on that of Gregory the First. Instead of six legions, forty monks were embarked for that distant island, and the pontiff lamented the austere duties which forbade him to partake the perils of their spiritual warfare. In less than two years he could announce to the archbishop of Alexandria that they had baptized the king of Kent with ten thousand of his Anglo-Saxons: and that the Roman missionaries, like those of the primitive church, were armed only with spiritual and supernatural powers [A.D. 597].

His temporal government.

§ 16. The temporal power of the popes insensibly arose from the calamities of the times. (1) The Church of Rome was endowed with ample possessions in Italy, Sicily, North Africa, Gaul, and Dalmatia; and her agents [*rectores*, *defensores*], who were commonly sub-deacons, had acquired a civil jurisdiction over their tenants. Gregory administered the "Patrimony of St. Peter" with the temper of a vigilant and moderate landlord, and his Epistles are full of salutary instructions to his agents. The income from these estates was transported to Rome, and in the use of it he acted like a faithful steward of the Church and the poor. Out of it were paid allowances to the clergy, the churches, the monasteries, the places of burial, the alms-houses, and the hospitals of Rome and the rest of the diocese; monthly distributions of provisions and money to the poor; and relief for the sick and helpless, strangers and pilgrims. (2) The misfortunes of Rome involved the apostolical pastor in the business of peace and war, and prompted him to supply the place of his absent sovereign. He exposed the guilt or incapacity of the exarch; complained of the withdrawal of the veterans from Rome; encouraged the Italians to guard their cities and altars; named the tribunes and directed the operations of the provincial troops; and even defied Imperial edicts.* Disappointed in the hope of a lasting treaty with the Lombards, he presumed to save his country without the consent of the emperor or the exarch.† The merits of Gregory were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult; but in the attachment of a grateful people he found the purest reward of a citizen and the best right of a sovereign.‡

Renewal of the war with Persia: revolutions in Persia (A.D. 579–591).

§ 17. The Persian war, which had been concluded by a peace between the two empires about four years before the death of Justinian, was renewed in the seventh year of Justin, A.D. 572. It was continued with various success during his reign, and during the reigns of his successors, Tiberius and Maurice, till a revolution in Persia drove the great king as a suppliant to the throne of the Cæsars. The celebrated Chosroes Nushirvan [Khosrau Anōsharvān] closed his long life in A.D. 579. He was succeeded by his son Hormouz, or Hormisdas [Hormizd], who in every

* He protected soldiers against a law of Maurice forbidding them to desert a military for a monastic life.

† For instance, in 592 he made a treaty with the Duke of Spoleto who was threatening Rome; in 599 he acted as mediator in the conclusion of a peace between the Lombard king and Ravenna.

‡ The epoch-making importance of Gregory's pontificate lies in the fact that he raised the papacy to a position of dignity and independence such as it had not hitherto enjoyed, and made its jurisdiction ecumenical in the West. His success was promoted by the existence of the two rival powers in Italy: the weakening of the Imperial authority by the Lombard invasion gave him the opportunity of independent action, while its continued presence prevented him from falling under Lombard sway. Cf. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. p. 145 ff.; other works on Gregory are mentioned at the end of the chapter.

word and in every action degenerated from the virtues of his father. Exasperated by long and hopeless oppression, the provinces of Babylon, Susa, and Carmania erected the standard of revolt; and the princes of Arabia, India, and Scythia refused the customary tribute to the unworthy successor of Nushirvan. The arms of the Romans, in slow sieges and frequent inroads, afflicted the frontiers of Mesopotamia and Assyria; and at the same time the eastern provinces of Persia were invaded by the great khan, who passed the Oxus at the head of 300,000 or 400,000 Turks. Persia had been lost by a king; it was saved by a hero. While the nation trembled, and Hormouz disguised his terror by the name of suspicion, Bahram alone displayed his undaunted courage. At the narrow Hyrcanian pass which leads into Media he routed the Turkish host; but in an encounter with a Roman army on the banks of the Araxes he suffered a severe defeat. Hormouz seized the opportunity afforded by the disgrace of his personal enemy, and sent him the insulting gift of a distaff and a suit of female apparel.* The soldiers resented the ignominy and revolted. The Persians were exhorted to assert their freedom against an odious tyrant; the defection was rapid and universal; and the provinces saluted Bahram as the deliverer of his country. The Persian nobles then deposed Hormouz, put out his eyes, and elevated his son Chosroes II. to the throne. But Bahram refused to acknowledge a revolution in which himself and his soldiers, the true representatives of Persia, had never been consulted. Chosroes was defeated and reduced to the necessity of imploring aid or refuge in some foreign land; and Hormouz was strangled by the rebels who had dethroned him (A.D. 590). Chosroes, meanwhile, after deliberation with his friends, prudently decided to appeal for help to the Roman emperor. Attended by a small guard, he followed the banks of the Euphrates, traversed the desert, and halted at the distance of ten miles from Circesium. About the third watch of the night the Roman præfect was informed of his approach, and he introduced the royal stranger to the fortress at the dawn of day. From thence the king of Persia was conducted to the more honourable residence of Hierapolis; and his anxiety was soon relieved by the assurance that the emperor had espoused the cause of justice and royalty. A powerful army was assembled on the frontiers of Syria and Armenia, under the command of the valiant and faithful Narses,† who was directed to pass the Tigris, and never to sheathe his sword till he had restored Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors. The enterprise, however splendid, was less arduous than it might appear. Persia had already repented of her fatal rashness, which betrayed the heir of the house of Sassan to the ambition of a rebellious subject; and the bold refusal of the Magi to consecrate his

* Cf. § 5, above.

† This Narses must not be confounded with the conqueror of Italy in Justinian's time.

usurpation compelled Bahram to assume the sceptre, regardless of the laws and prejudices of the nation. No sooner did the grandson of Nushirvan display his own and the Roman banners beyond the Tigris, than he was joined, each day, by the increasing multitudes of the nobility and people; and the contest was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab and the confines of Media.* With the remnant of a broken army, Bahram fled towards the eastern provinces of the Oxus; the enmity of Persia reconciled him to the Turks; but his days were shortened by poison, perhaps the most incurable of poisons: the stings of remorse and despair, and the bitter remembrance of lost glory. Yet the modern Persians still commemorate the exploits of Bahram; and some excellent laws have prolonged the duration of his troubled and transitory reign. Chosroes, after the flight of Bahram, met with no further opposition; and the glory of Maurice was conspicuous in the long and fortunate reign of his *son* and his ally. A band of 1000 Romans, who continued to guard the person of Chosroes, proclaimed his confidence in the fidelity of the strangers; his growing strength enabled him to dismiss this unpopular aid, but he steadily professed the same gratitude and reverence to his adopted father; and, till the death of Maurice, the peace and alliance of the two empires were faithfully maintained.†

wars with the Avars (A.D. 581–602).

§ 18. While the majesty of the Roman name was revived in the East, the prospect of Europe is less pleasing and less glorious. By the departure of the Lombards and the ruin of the Gepidæ the balance of power was destroyed on the Danube; and the Avars spread their permanent dominion from the foot of the Alps to the sea-coast of the Euxine. The reign of Baian (A.D. 570–600) is the brightest æra of their monarchy. The pride of the second Justin, of Tiberius, and Maurice was humbled by a proud barbarian; and as often as Asia was threatened by the Persian arms, Europe was oppressed by the dangerous inroads or costly friendship of the Avars. Sirmium and Singidunum (Belgrade) were taken by these formidable foes [A.D. 581]. From Singidunum to the walls of Constantinople a line may be measured of 600 miles: that line was marked with flames and with blood; the horses of the Avars were alternately bathed in the Euxine and the Adriatic; and the Roman pontiff, alarmed by the approach of a more savage enemy, was reduced to cherish the Lombards as the protectors of Italy. The Persian alliance restored the troops of the East to the defence of Europe; and Maurice, who had supported ten years the insolence of the Chagan, sent his brother Peter, and Priscus, an able general, against the barbarians. Peter

* Near Ganzaca (to the south of Tabriz).

† By the conditions of the restoration a considerable territory was ceded to the empire, which now extended as far as Lake Goktcha (anc. Lychnitis) in Georgia on the north, and Martyropolis and Daras on the south.

displayed both incapacity and cowardice [A.D. 593]; but Priscus, in five successive battles, took 17,200 barbarians prisoners, and slew near 60,000, with four sons of the Chagan; he surprised a peaceful district of the Gepidæ, who slept under the protection of the Avars; and his last trophies were erected on the banks of the Danube and the Theiss. Since the death of Trajan the arms of the empire had not penetrated so deeply into the old Dacia; yet the success of Priscus was transient and barren, and he was soon recalled by the apprehension that Baian, with dauntless spirit and recruited forces, was preparing to avenge his defeat under the walls of Constantinople.

Rebellion of the Roman army: death of Maurice and elevation of Phocas (A.D. 602).

§ 19. The attempt of Maurice to restore the discipline of the Roman armies brought about his destruction. The troops had become licentious and insubordinate. The camps, both of Asia and Europe, were agitated with frequent and furious seditions; and the soldiers, enraged by the avarice of the emperor, either rejected the yoke of all civil and military laws or instituted a dangerous model of voluntary subordination.* The historians of the times adopt the vulgar suspicion that Maurice conspired to destroy the troops whom he laboured to reform; and every age must condemn the inhumanity or avarice of a prince who, by the trifling ransom of 6000 pieces of gold, might have prevented the massacre of 12,000 prisoners in the hands of the Chagan [A.D. 599 or 600].† In the just fervour of indignation, an order was signified to the army of the Danube that they should spare the magazines of the province and establish their winter quarters in the hostile country of the Avars and Slavonians. The measure of their grievances was full: they pronounced Maurice unworthy to reign, expelled or slaughtered his faithful adherents, and under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, returned by hasty marches to the neighbourhood of Constantinople. So obscure had been the former condition of Phocas, that the emperor was ignorant of the name and character of his rival; but as soon as he learned that the centurion, though bold in sedition, was timid in the face of danger, "Alas!" cried the desponding prince, "if he is a coward, he will surely be a murderer." The rigid and parsimonious virtues of Maurice had long since alienated the hearts of his subjects: Constantinople rose in arms; and the lawless city was abandoned to the flames and rapine of a nocturnal

* Gibbon ascribes the laxity of discipline to the degeneracy of the armies, a "lifeless body of slaves and strangers;" but their brilliant victories under Belisarius, Narses, Heraclius, and in later times against the fanatical Saracens, show that his view is not well founded. Their mutinous spirit was due to their hatred of Maurice. He was a soldier of ability, but he was detested by the army, whose hatred he inflamed by several impolitic acts. [The *Strategikon*, a military treatise in twelve books, is usually (but wrongly) ascribed to him.]

† But the Treasury was exhausted. Finlay points out that many of the prisoners were probably deserters; and Maurice may have meant it as a punishment for mutiny and insubordination.

tumult. In a small bark the unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, escaped to the Asiatic shore, but the violence of the wind compelled him to land at the church of St. Autonomus, near Chalcedon, from whence he despatched Theodosius, his eldest son, to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. On the third day, amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people, Phocas made his public entry in a chariot drawn by four white horses; the revolt of the troops was rewarded by a lavish donative, and the new sovereign, after visiting the palace, beheld from his throne the games of the hippodrome. In a dispute of precedency between the two factions, his partial judgment inclined in favour of the Greens. "Remember that Maurice is still alive" resounded from the opposite side; and the indiscreet clamour of the Blues admonished and stimulated the cruelty of the tyrant. The ministers of death were despatched to Chalcedon; they dragged the emperor from his sanctuary, and the five sons of Maurice were successively murdered before the eyes of their agonizing parent. At each stroke, which he felt in his heart, he found strength to rehearse a pious ejaculation: "Thou art just, O Lord! and thy judgments are righteous." The tragic scene was finally closed by the execution of the emperor himself, in the 20th year of his reign, and the 63rd of his age (A.D. 602, Nov. 27).

§ 20. Phocas appears no less hateful in the exercise than in the acquisition of power. Ignorant of letters, of laws, and even of arms, he indulged in the supreme rank a more ample privilege of lust and drunkenness, and his brutal pleasures were either injurious to his subjects or disgraceful to himself. Without assuming the office of a prince, he renounced the profession of a soldier, and the reign of Phocas afflicted Europe with ignominious peace* and Asia with desolating war. His savage temper was inflamed by passion, hardened by fear, exasperated by resistance or reproach. The flight of Theodosius to the Persian court had been intercepted by a rapid pursuit or a deceitful message:† he was beheaded at Nice, and the last hours of the young prince were soothed by the comforts of religion and the consciousness of innocence. In the massacre of the Imperial family, the mercy, or rather the discretion, of Phocas had spared the widow and daughters of the late emperor. But the spirit of the empress Constantina, still mindful of her father, her husband, and her sons, aspired to freedom and revenge. She twice conspired against the tyrant, and, after being tortured like the vilest malefactor, to force a confession of her designs and associates, she was beheaded at Chalcedon with

Reign of Phocas.

* In 604 or 605 he obtained peace with the Avars by increasing the annual tribute, in order to be able to send all his troops to the Persian war (§ 21).

† A later rumour; Theodosius was recalled by his father in a spirit of resignation (Theoph. Simocatta, viii. 11).

her three innocent daughters, on the same ground which had been stained with the blood of her husband and five sons [A.D. 605]. After such an example it would be superfluous to enumerate the names and sufferings of meaner victims. The hippodrome, the sacred asylum of the pleasures and the liberty of the Romans, was polluted with heads and limbs and mangled bodies; and the companions of Phocas were the most sensible that neither his favour nor their services could protect them from a tyrant, the worthy rival of the Caligulas and Domitians of the first age of the empire.

His fall and death: elevation of Heraclius (A.D. 610).

A daughter of Phocas, his only child, was given in marriage to the patrician Priscus, and the *royal** images of the bride and bridegroom were indiscreetly placed in the circus by the side of the emperor. The father must desire that his posterity should inherit the fruit of his crimes, but the monarch was offended by this premature and popular association; and Priscus might reasonably doubt whether a jealous usurper could forget and pardon his involuntary competition. Every province of the empire was ripe for rebellion;† and Heraclius, exarch of Africa, persisted above two years in refusing all tribute and obedience to the centurion who disgraced the throne of Constantinople. By the secret emissaries of Priscus and the senate, the independent exarch was solicited to save and to govern his country; but his ambition was chilled by age, and he resigned the dangerous enterprise to his son Heraclius. A faint rumour of their undertaking was conveyed to the ears of Phocas; but the treacherous heart of Priscus extenuated the distant peril, and the tyrant supinely slept till the African navy steered its triumphant course through the Propontis. The people, and even the guards, were determined by the well-timed defection of Priscus, and the tyrant was seized by a private enemy, who boldly invaded the solitude of the palace. Stripped of the diadem and purple, clothed in a vile habit, and loaded with chains, he was transported in a small boat to the Imperial galley of Heraclius, who reproached him with the crimes of his abominable reign. "Wilt thou govern better?" were the last words of the despair of Phocas. After suffering each variety of insult and torture, his head was severed from his body, the mangled trunk was cast into the flames, and the same treatment was inflicted on the statues of the vain usurper and the seditious banner of the green faction (A.D. 610, Oct. 4). The voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people invited Heraclius to ascend the throne which he had purified from guilt and ignominy; after some graceful hesitation he yielded to their entreaties.

* *I.e.* laurelled images (λαυράτα).

† The exarchate of Italy was the only province not affected by the general disorder. In 608 the exarch Smaragdus erected a statue in honour of Phocas, *pro quiete procurata Ital. ac conservata libertate* (*Corp. Inscr. Latin.* vi. 1200). Smaragdus, however, seems to have been a minion of Phocas.

His coronation was accompanied by that of his wife Eudocia, and their posterity, till the fourth generation, continued to reign over the empire of the East.

Chosroes II. invades the Roman Empire (A.D. 603, etc.).

§ 21. Even after his death the republic was afflicted by the crimes of Phocas, which armed with a pious cause the most formidable of her enemies. Upon receiving intelligence of the death of Maurice, Chosroes declared himself the avenger of his father and benefactor, and at the head of a powerful army invaded the Roman dominions. Under the reign of Phocas the fortifications of Mardin, Dara, Amida, and Edessa were successively besieged, reduced, and destroyed by the Persian monarch;* he passed the Euphrates, occupied the Syrian cities Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Berrœa or Aleppo, and soon encompassed the walls of Antioch with his irresistible arms. The rapid tide of success discloses the decay of the empire, the incapacity of Phocas, and the disaffection of his subjects; and Chosroes provided a decent apology for their submission or revolt by an impostor who attended his camp as the son of Maurice and the lawful heir of the monarchy.

The first intelligence from the East which Heraclius received was that of the loss of Antioch (A.D. 611). It was followed by the capture of Cæsarea and Damascus; and after the reduction of Galilee and the region beyond the Jordan, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault (A.D. 614). The sepulchre of Christ and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine were consumed, or at least damaged, by the flames; the devout offerings of 300 years were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zachariah and the *true cross* were transported into Persia; and the massacre of 90,000 Christians is imputed to the Jews and Arabs, who swelled the disorder of the Persian march. Egypt itself, the only province which had been exempt since the time of Diocletian from foreign and domestic war, was again subdued by the successors of Cyrus (A.D. 616).† Alexandria might have been relieved by a naval force, but the archbishop and the præfect embarked for Cyprus; and Chosroes entered the second city of the empire, which still preserved a wealthy remnant of industry and commerce. His western trophy was erected in the neighbourhood of Tripoli: the Greek colonies of Cyrene were finally extirpated; and the conqueror, treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan desert. In the same campaign ‡ another army advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosporus; Chalcedon surrendered after a long siege, and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople. The sea-coast of Pontus, the city of Ancyra, and the isle of Rhodes are

* In 608 or 609 Armenia and Cappadocia, Galatia and Paphlagonia, were overrun by the Persians, who then advanced, showing mercy neither to age nor sex, as far as Chalcedon.

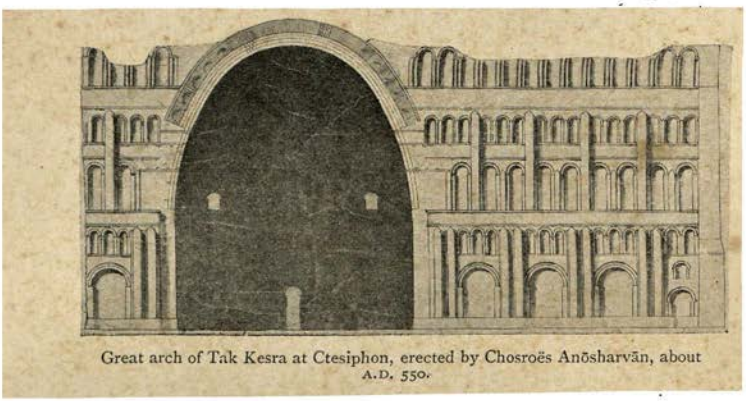
† The date is uncertain. Gelzer proposes A.D. 619.

‡ *I.e.* A.D. 616 (perhaps): the army was under Shâhin.

enumerated among the last conquests of the Great King; and if Chosroes had possessed any maritime power, his boundless ambition would have spread slavery and desolation over the provinces of Europe.

Reign and magnificence of Chosroes.

§ 22. From the long-disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nushirvan was suddenly extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy. But the provinces, which had been fashioned by the habits of 600 years to the virtues and vices of the Roman government, supported with reluctance the yoke of the barbarians. The Christians of the East were scandalized by the worship of fire and the impious doctrine of the two principles; the Magi were not less intolerant than the bishops; and the martyrdom of some native Persians who had deserted the religion of Zoroaster was conceived to be the prelude of a fierce and general persecution. Chosroes enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of victory, and frequently retired from the hardships of war to the luxury of the palace. But, in the space of twenty-four years, he was deterred by superstition or resentment from approaching the gates of Ctesiphon; and his favourite residence of Artemita,



Great arch of Tak Kesra at Ctesiphon, erected by Chosroës Anōsharvān, about A.D. 550.

or Dastagerd, was situate beyond the Tigris, about sixty miles to the north of the capital. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace-gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by 12,000 slaves; and the various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the 30,000 rich hangings that adorned the walls; the 40,000 columns of silver, or more probably of marble and plated wood, that supported the roof; and the thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations

of the zodiac. While the Persian monarch contemplated the wonders of his art and power, he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apostle of God. He rejected the invitation, and tore the epistle. "It is thus," exclaimed the Arabian prophet, "that God will tear the kingdom and reject the supplications of Chosroes." * Placed on the verge of the two great empires of the East, Mahomet observed with secret joy the progress of their mutual destruction; and in the midst of the Persian triumphs he ventured to foretell that, before many years should elapse, victory would again return to the banners of the Romans.

Distress of Heraclius.

§ 23. At the time when this prediction is said to have been delivered, no prophecy could be more distant from its accomplishment, since the first twelve years of Heraclius (A.D. 610–622) announced the approaching dissolution of the empire. If the motives of Chosroes had been pure and honourable, he must have ended the quarrel with the death of Phocas, and he would have embraced, as his best ally, the fortunate African who had so generously avenged the injuries of his benefactor Maurice. The prosecution of the war revealed the true character of the barbarian; and the suppliant embassies of Heraclius to beseech his clemency, that he would spare the innocent, accept a tribute, and give peace to the world, were rejected with contemptuous silence or insolent menace. Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Asia were subdued by the Persian arms; while Europe, from the confines of Istria to the long wall of Thrace, was oppressed by the Avars, unsatiated with the blood and rapine of the Italian war. By these implacable enemies Heraclius, on either side, was insulted and besieged; and the Roman empire was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and some maritime cities, from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Asiatic coast.† After the loss of Egypt the capital was afflicted with famine and pestilence; and the emperor, hopeless of relief, had resolved to transfer his person and government to the more secure residence of Carthage.‡ His ships were already laden with the treasures of the palace, but his flight was arrested by the patriarch, who armed the powers of religion in defence of his country, and extorted an oath from Heraclius that he would live and die with the people whom God had entrusted to his care. The Chagan was encamped in the plains of Thrace.§ Dissembling his perfidious designs, he solicited an interview with the emperor near Heraclea. Their reconciliation was celebrated

* The letter to Chosroes probably did not arrive till after his death: it was received by his successor Siroes (§ 30).

† The provinces were, of course, not really subdued: the country was only overrun and harried, and a few of the large cities occupied.

‡ This scheme was conceived *after* the failure of Shahin's embassy, probably in A.D. 618.

§ This invasion, usually assigned (after Theophanes) to A.D. 619, probably did not take place till 623, after Heraclius's first expedition.

with equestrian games, to which the senate and people resorted in their gayest apparel. On a sudden the hippodrome was encompassed by the Avaric cavalry; Heraclius escaped only by the fleetness of his horse; but the suburbs of the capital were plundered, and 270,000 captives transported across the Danube. At Chalcedon the emperor held a safer conference with a more honourable foe. The offer of Shahin, the Persian general, to conduct an embassy to the Great King, was accepted with the warmest gratitude. But Shahin had fatally mistaken the intentions of his master: he was flayed alive, and the ambassadors were rigorously confined. Yet the experience of six years at length persuaded the Persian monarch to renounce the conquest of Constantinople, and to specify the annual tribute or ransom of the Roman empire: a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins. Heraclius subscribed these ignominious terms, but the time and space which he obtained to collect such treasures from the poverty of the East was industriously employed in the preparations of a bold and desperate attack.

His preparations for war (A.D. 621).

§ 24. Of the characters conspicuous in history, that of Heraclius is one of the most extraordinary and inconsistent. In the first and the last years of a long reign the emperor appears to be the slave of sloth, of pleasure, or of superstition, the careless and impotent spectator of the public calamities.* But the languid mists of the morning and evening are separated by the brightness of the meridian sun: the Arcadius of the palace arose the Cæsar of the camp; and the honour of Rome and Heraclius was gloriously retrieved by the exploits and trophies of six adventurous campaigns. At the moment when Heraclius assumed the spirit of a hero, the only hopes of the Romans were drawn from the vicissitudes of fortune, which might threaten the proud prosperity of Chosroes, and must be favourable to those who had attained the lowest period of depression. To provide for the expenses of war was the first care of the emperor;† and the courage of Heraclius was first displayed in daring to borrow the consecrated wealth of churches, under the solemn vow of restoring, with usury, whatever he had been compelled to employ in the service of religion and of the empire; while the clergy themselves sympathized with the public distress. Of the soldiers who had conspired with Phocas, only two were found to have survived the stroke of time and of the barbarians; the loss even of these seditious veterans was imperfectly supplied by the new

* But at first Heraclius had serious difficulties to contend with: (1) the independent attitude of the aristocratic classes ("patricians"); (2) the want of an army; and (3) an empty treasury (Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii. p. 209 ff.).

† With this object the corn-doles (οἱ πολιτικοὶ ἄρτοι) were abolished in 618—a reform which also brought in recruits from the idle masses and improved the general *morale*.

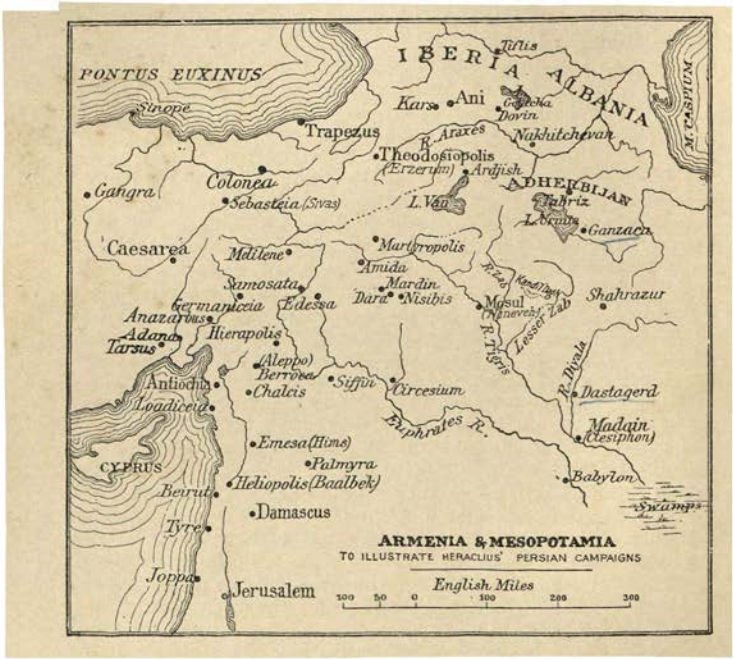
levies of Heraclius; and the gold of the sanctuary united, in the same camp, the names and arms and languages of the East and West.

First expedition of Heraclius against the Persians (A.D. 622).

§ 25. On Easter Monday the emperor gave the signal of his departure. The neighbouring heights of Chalcedon were covered with tents and arms; but if the new levies of Heraclius had been rashly led to the attack, the victory of the Persians in the sight of Constantinople might have been the last day of the Roman empire. But the Greeks were still masters of the sea; a fleet of galleys, transports, and store-ships was assembled in the harbour; the barbarians consented to embark; and Heraclius landed his troops on the confines of Syria and Cilicia, in the gulf of Scanderoon, where the coast suddenly turns to the south.* His discernment was expressed in the choice of this important post. The natural fortifications of Cilicia protected and even concealed the camp of Heraclius, which was pitched near Issus, on the same ground where Alexander had vanquished the host of Darius. The angle which the emperor occupied was deeply indented into a vast semicircle of the Asiatic, Armenian, and Syrian provinces; and to whatsoever point of the circumference he should direct his attack, it was easy for him to dissemble his own motions, and to prevent those of the enemy. In the camp of Issus the Roman general reformed the sloth and disorder of the veterans, and educated the new recruits in the knowledge and practice of military virtue. Cilicia was soon encompassed with the Persian arms, but their cavalry hesitated to enter the defiles of Mount Taurus till they were circumvented by the evolutions of Heraclius, who insensibly gained their rear, whilst he appeared to present his front in order of battle. By a false motion, which seemed to threaten Armenia, he drew them against their wishes to a general action. They were tempted by the artful disorder of his camp; and the event of the day declared to the world that the Persians were not invincible, and that an hero was invested with the purple. Strong in victory

* Heraclius never entered Cilicia at all. From Constantinople he sailed to Pylæ, which was taken to mean the Cilician Gates (*Pylæ Ciliciæ*), the entrance to the great pass over Taurus, and hence the campaign was misunderstood. Pylæ is a Bithynian town on the south of the Gulf of Nicomedeia, and was the usual starting-point of the land-road to the East after Justinian's time (Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 201). From Pylæ he went to the "districts of the regiments" (θεμάτων), *i.e.* he marched by the usual route through Phrygia, picking up the provincial contingents on the way. After drilling his troops he went into Pontus, where he let himself be caught in a defile by the Persian general Shahrbaraz, but dexterously extricated himself; and his marches and counter-marches so annoyed Shahrbaraz that he resolved to withdraw to Cilicia, but reflecting that this would leave the road through Armenia open to Heraclius, he abandoned the idea. At length the armies came to close quarters, and the Persians were routed. But the danger of an invasion of the Avars (see § 23) prevented him from following up his success, and forced him to return home. In the spring of 624 he made a treaty with the Avar king, and was free to prosecute the Persian war.

and fame, Heraclius boldly ascended the heights of Mount Taurus, directed his march through the plains of Cappadocia, and established his troops for the winter season in safe and plentiful quarters on the banks of the river Halys.



His second expedition [A.D. 624–626].

§ 26. Since the days of Scipio and Hannibal, no bolder enterprise has been attempted than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of the empire. He permitted the Persians to oppress for awhile the provinces, and to insult with impunity the capital of the East, while the Roman emperor explored his perilous way through the Black Sea * and the mountains of

* In none of his expeditions did he go by the Black Sea, but always took the usual land-route leading towards Cæsareia in Cappadocia. (This is proved by the narrative of an Armenian writer, Sebêos, which is of great importance for Heraclius's campaigns. The Greek writers, on whom Gibbon had to rely, are exceedingly defective and confused.) On March 25, 624, he left the capital, spent three weeks in preparations, and left Nicomedeia after Easter for Cæsareia. Thence he advanced by Erzerûm and the Araxes valley to Dovin (Devin) and Nakhitchevan in Georgia, south of Lake Goktcha, and destroyed both towns. He then marched down the east side of Lake Urmia to Ganzaca (south of Tabriz), the capital of Adherbijan (Azerbijan), captured and destroyed the city and its famous

Armenia, penetrated into the heart of Persia, and recalled the armies of the Great King to the defence of their bleeding country. With a select band of 5000 soldiers, Heraclius sailed from Constantinople to Trebizond; assembled his forces which had wintered in the Pontic regions; and, from the mouth of the Phasis to the Caspian Sea, encouraged his subjects and allies to march with the successor of Constantine under the faithful and victorious banner of the cross. The limits of Armenia, as it had been ceded to the emperor Maurice, extended as far as the Araxes; the river submitted to the indignity of a bridge, and Heraclius, in the footsteps of Mark Antony, advanced towards the city of Tauris or Gandzaca,* the ancient and modern capital of one of the provinces of Media. The rapid conquests of Heraclius were suspended only by the winter season; a motive of prudence or superstition determined his retreat into the province of Albania, along the shores of the Caspian; and his tents were most probably pitched in the plains of Mogan, the favourite encampment of Oriental princes [A.D. 624–625].

Amidst the glories of the succeeding campaign, Heraclius is almost lost to our eyes, and to those of the Byzantine historians. From the spacious and fruitful plains of Albania, the emperor appears to follow the chain of Hyrcanian mountains, to descend into the province of Media or Irak, and to carry his victorious arms as far as the royal cities of Casbin and Ispahan, which had never been approached by a Roman conqueror.† Alarmed by the danger of his kingdom, the powers of Chosroes were already recalled from the Nile and the Bosporus, and three formidable armies surrounded, in a distant and hostile land, the camp of the emperor. But Heraclius repelled this threefold attack, improved the divisions of their chiefs, and, by a well-concerted train of marches, retreats, and successful actions

fire-temple, and advanced towards Dastagerd, the royal residence. But the approach of Shahrbaraz from west, and of Shahin from south, compelled him to retire towards Albania. When encamped on the north-east of Lake Goktcha, he was suddenly surrounded by the two Persian generals, but extricated himself by a successful action, and retiring southwards, wintered in the district of Nakhitchevan (A.D. 624–5).

* Gandzaca lay probably some distance south of Tabriz (Tauris).

† Second campaign, 625 (Spring). A third Persian general, Shahraplakan, came on the scene, and occupied the passes leading along the east shore of Lake Urmia into Persia. Heraclius crossed the Araxes further up, and attempted to reach Persia by a *détour* along the west side of the lake, but was opposed by the Persian generals; and the whole summer was spent in fighting against Shahraplakan and Shahrbaraz, and, after the former's death, with the latter and Shahin. At length he was forced to turn northwards again, and entered the "land of the Huns," *i.e.* the country north of the Caucasus. As winter drew nigh, he descended again into the easterly part of Persian Armenia, surprised Shahrbaraz at Ardjish, at the northern corner of Lake Van, and annihilated his army of 6000 men. Shahrbaraz barely escaped, leaving his wives and treasure in the hands of the Greeks. Heraclius wintered in these parts.

finally chased them from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Assyria. On the return of spring [A.D. 626], the emperor traversed in seven days the mountains of Curdistan, and passed without resistance the rapid stream of the Tigris.* Oppressed by the weight of their spoils and captives, the Roman army halted under the walls of Amida; and Heraclius informed the senate of Constantinople of his safety and success, which they had already felt by the retreat of the besiegers. The bridges of the Euphrates † were destroyed by the Persians; but as soon as the emperor had discovered a ford, they hastily retired to defend the banks of the Sarus, in Cilicia. That river, an impetuous torrent, was about 300 feet broad; the bridge was fortified with strong turrets; and the banks were lined with barbarian archers. After a bloody conflict, which continued till the evening, the Romans prevailed in the assault; and a Persian of gigantic size was slain and thrown into the Sarus by the hand of the emperor himself. The enemies were dispersed and dismayed; Heraclius pursued his march to Sebasteia, now Sivas, in Cappadocia; and at the expiration of three years, the same coast of the Euxine ‡ applauded his return from a long and victorious expedition.

Deliverance of Constantinople from the Persians and Avars (A.D. 626).

§ 27. Instead of skirmishing on the frontier, the two monarchs who disputed the empire of the East aimed their desperate strokes at the heart of their rival. The military force of Persia was wasted by the marches and combats of twenty years; but the revenge and ambition of Chosroes exhausted his kingdom; and the new levies of subjects, strangers, and slaves, were divided into three formidable bodies. The first army of 50,000 men, illustrious by the ornament and title of the *golden spears*, was destined to march against Heraclius; the second was stationed to prevent his junction with the troops of his brother Theodorus; and the third was commanded to besiege Constantinople, and to second the operations of the Chagan, with whom the Persian king had ratified a treaty of alliance and partition. Sarbar [Shahrbarāz], the general of the third army, penetrated through the provinces of Asia to the well-known camp of Chalcedon, where he impatiently waited the arrival of his Scythian friends on the opposite side of the Bosporus. On the 29th of June (A.D. 626), 30,000 barbarians, the vanguard of the Avars, forced the long wall, and drove into the capital a promiscuous crowd of peasants, citizens, and soldiers. Fourscore thousand of his native subjects, and of the vassal tribes of Gepidæ, Russians, Bulgarians, and Slavonians, advanced under the

* Third campaign, 626 (Spring): return to Constantinople. Instead of following up his success, Heraclius began to retire westwards, partly because of the exhaustion of his troops, partly, no doubt, because of the riots which were taking place in the Capitol over the corn-doles, and partly, perhaps, because of a report of the coming Avaric attack on Constantinople (§ 27).

† At Samosata (Samsat).

‡ There is no evidence that he returned by the Euxine.

standard of the Chagan ;* a month was spent in marches and negotiations, but the whole city was invested on the 31st of July ; and the inhabitants descried with terror the flaming signals of the European and Asiatic shores. During ten successive days the capital was assaulted by the Avars, who had made some progress in the science of attack ; but the senate and people were animated by the spirit of Heraclius, who had detached to their relief a body of 12,000 cuirassiers ; the powers of fire and mechanics were used with superior art and success in the defence of Constantinople ; and the galleys, with two and three ranks of oars, commanded the Bosporus, and rendered the Persians the idle spectators of the defeat of their allies. The Avars were repulsed ; the vassals of the Chagan threatened to desert, his provisions were exhausted, and, after burning his engines, he gave the signal of a slow and formidable retreat.

His third expedition [A.D. 626–627].

§ 28. After the division of his army, Heraclius prudently retired to the banks of Phasis, from whence he maintained a defensive war against the 50,000 gold spears of Persia. His anxiety was relieved by the deliverance of Constantinople ; his hopes were confirmed by a victory of his brother Theodorus ;† and to the hostile league of Chosroes with the Avars the Roman emperor opposed the useful and honourable alliance of the Turks. At his liberal invitation, the horde of Khazars transported their tents from the plains of the Volga to the mountains of Georgia ; Heraclius received them in the neighbourhood of Tiflis, obtained an immediate succour of 40,000 horse, and negotiated a strong diversion of the Turkish arms on the side of the Oxus.‡ The Persians, in their turn, retreated with precipitation ; in the camp of Edessa, Heraclius reviewed an army of 70,000 Romans and strangers ; and some months were successfully employed in the recovery of the cities of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, whose fortifications had been imperfectly restored.§ Sarbar still maintained the important station of Chalcedon, but the jealousy of Chosroes, or the artifice of Heraclius, soon alienated the mind of that powerful satrap from the service of his king and country ; and if some considerations of honour or policy restrained Sarbar from joining

* A son of Baian (§ 18).

† Theodorus had inflicted a signal defeat on Shahin, who took it so much to heart that he died soon after.

‡ The Khazars under Zhebu (Ziëbel) captured the fortress commanding the Caspian Gates (at Derbent), wasted Adherbijan, and helped Heraclius in an unsuccessful siege of Tiflis. Zhebu then returned home, but next year sent a body of troops to aid the emperor ; they ravaged Albania and Adherbijan. These events covered the year autumn 626—autumn 627.

§ In Sept. 627, Heraclius invaded the country about Kars and Ani ; and Chosroes sent against him a fresh army under Radzâdh. Meanwhile Heraclius advanced south along the west coast of Lake Urmia into Adherbijan, and, crossing the chain separating that province from Assyria (Kandil Dagh), reached the country about the Great Zab, and encamped at Nineveh. Radzâdh hurried south from Ganzaca, and the two armies joined issue.

the standard of Heraclius, the emperor was assured that he might prosecute without interruption his designs of victory and peace.

Deprived of his firmest support, and doubtful of the fidelity of his subjects, the greatness of Chosroes was still conspicuous in its ruins. The number of 500,000 may be interpreted as an Oriental metaphor to describe the men and arms, the horses and elephants, that covered Media and Assyria against the invasion of Heraclius. Yet the Romans boldly advanced from the Araxes to the Tigris, and the timid prudence of Rhazates [Rahzâdh] was content to follow them by forced marches through a desolate country, till he received a peremptory mandate to risk the fate of Persia in a decisive battle. Eastward of the Tigris, at the end of the bridge of Mosul, the great Nineveh had formerly been erected; the city, and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared; the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operations of the two armies. In the battle of Nineveh, which was fiercely fought [Dec. 12], from daybreak to the eleventh hour, Rhazates was slain by the emperor's own hand;* 28 standards, beside those which might be broken or torn, were taken from the Persians; the greatest part of their army was cut in pieces; and the victors, concealing their own loss, passed the night on the field. The diligence of Heraclius was not less admirable in the use of victory; by a march of 48 miles in 24 hours his vanguard occupied the bridges of the great and the lesser Zab, and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans.† By a just gradation of magnificent scenes they penetrated to the royal seat of Dastagerd, and, though much of the treasure had been removed and much had been expended, the remaining wealth appears to have exceeded their hopes, and even to have satiated their avarice. Whatever could not be easily transported they consumed with fire, that Chosroes might feel the anguish of those wounds which he had so often inflicted on the provinces of the empire. The recovery of 300 Roman standards and the deliverance of the numerous captives of Edessa and Alexandria reflect a purer glory on the arms of Heraclius. From the palace of Dastagerd he pursued his march within a few miles of Madain or Ctesiphon, till he was stopped, on the banks of the Arba, by the difficulty of the passage, the rigour of the season, and perhaps the fame of an impregnable capital.‡ The return of the emperor is marked by

* He was left on the field, but not slain.

† Meanwhile the remnants of the defeated army had been joined by reinforcements expected before the battle, and Radzâdh got in front of Heraclius, and crossed the River Adhem, but retired on the approach of the Roman army. Heraclius then reached Dastagerd (near Baghdad).

‡ According to Sebêos, Shahrbaraz was approaching in his rear, and Radzâdh's army was encamped near Ctesiphon, on the lower course of the River Diyâla. He had, therefore, to retire along the upper Diyâla, and managed to pass (end of Feb.) Mount Zarasp, part of the chain between

the modern name of the city of Sherhzour [Shahrazûr]: he fortunately passed Mount Zara [Zarasp] before the snow, which fell incessantly 34 days; and the citizens of Gandzaca, or Tauris, were compelled to entertain his soldiers and their horses with an hospitable reception [March 11].

§ 29. It was still in the power of Chosroes to obtain a reasonable peace; and he was repeatedly pressed by the messengers of Heraclius to spare the blood of his subjects, and to relieve an humane conqueror from the painful duty of carrying fire and sword through the fairest countries of Asia. But the pride of the Persian had not yet sunk to the level of his fortune; he derived a momentary confidence from the retreat of the emperor; he wept with impotent rage over the ruins of his Assyrian palaces; and disregarded too long the rising murmurs of the nation, who complained that their lives and fortunes were sacrificed to the obstinacy of an old man. That unhappy old man was himself tortured with the sharpest pains both of mind and body; and, in the consciousness of his approaching end, he resolved to fix the tiara on the head of Merdaza, the most favoured of his sons. But the will of Chosroes was no longer revered, and Siroes [Shērōe], who gloried in the rank and merit of his mother Sira, the favourite wife of the king, had conspired with the malcontents to assert and anticipate the rights of primogeniture. It was determined by the conspirators that Siroes, with the ensigns of royalty, should appear in the camp; and if the enterprise should fail, his escape was contrived to the Imperial court. But the new monarch was saluted with unanimous acclamations; the flight of Chosroes was rudely arrested, 18 sons were massacred before his face, and he was thrown into a dungeon, where he expired on the fifth day (A.D. 628). The glory of the house of Sassan ended with the life of Chosroes; his unnatural son enjoyed only eight months the fruit of his crimes; and in the space of four years the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed, with the sword or dagger, the fragments of an exhausted monarchy. Every province and each city of Persia was the scene of independence, of discord, and of blood; and the state of anarchy prevailed about eight years longer, till the factions were silenced and united under the common yoke of the Arabian caliphs.

Chosroes is deposed and murdered by his son Siroes (A.D. 628).

§ 30. The elevation of Siroes to the throne of Persia was followed by a treaty of peace and alliance between the two nations. The conditions of the treaty were easily defined and faithfully executed. In the recovery of the standards and prisoners which had fallen into the hands of the Persians, the emperor imitated the example of Augustus; the subjects and brethren of Heraclius were redeemed from persecution, slavery, and exile; but, instead of the Roman eagles, the true wood of the holy cross was restored to the importunate demands of the successor of

Treaty of peace between the two empires (A.D. 628).

Assyria and Media, just in time to escape a fearful snowstorm. Here he received intelligence of the revolution in Persia.

Constantine. The victor was not ambitious of enlarging the weakness of the empire; the son of Chosroes abandoned without regret the conquests of his father; and a war which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchies produced no change in their external and relative situation. The return of Heraclius from Tauris to Constantinople was a perpetual triumph. After a long impatience, the senate, the clergy, and the people went forth to meet their hero with tears and acclamations, with olive-branches and innumerable lamps; he entered the capital in a chariot drawn by four elephants, and, as soon as the emperor could disengage himself from the tumult of public joy, he tasted more genuine satisfaction in the embraces of his mother and his son.

Yet the deliverer of the East was indigent and feeble. Of the Persian spoils the most valuable portion had been expended in the war, distributed to the soldiers, or buried, by an unlucky tempest, in the waves of the Euxine. The conscience of the emperor was oppressed by the obligation of restoring the wealth of the clergy, which he had borrowed for their own defence: a perpetual fund was required to satisfy these inexorable creditors; and the provinces, already wasted by the arms and avarice of the Persians, were compelled to a second payment of the same taxes. The loss of 200,000 soldiers, who had fallen by the sword, was of less fatal importance than the decay of arts, agriculture, and population in this long and destructive war; and although a victorious army had been formed under the standard of Heraclius, the unnatural effort appears to have exhausted rather than exercised their strength. While the emperor triumphed at Constantinople or Jerusalem, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens, and they cut in pieces some troops who advanced to its relief; an ordinary and trifling occurrence, had it not been the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the apostles of Mahomet; their fanatic valour had emerged from the desert; and in the last eight years of his reign Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians.

[An important new source for A.D. 565–600 is the Syriac History of John of Ephesus (tr. Payne Smith, 1860).

Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. iv. pt. ii., and v. c. i.; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. bk. iv. pt. ii.; and bk. v. cc. 1–3. L. Drapeyron, *L'empereur Héraclius et l'empire byzantin au viie siècle* (1869).

For the Avars, Howorth, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, 1889, p. 721 ff.

For the Turks, Parker, *The Origin of the Turks*, in *English Historical Review*, 1896, p. 431 ff.; and Bury, *Turks in the Sixth Century*, *ibid.*, 1897, p. 417 ff.

For Italy and Lombards, Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. v. and vi. (1895); J. Weise, *Italien und die Langobardenherrscher*, 568–628 (1887); C. Diehl, *Études sur l'administration Byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne* (1888); L. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der byzant. Verwaltung in Italien* (1889); R. Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy from the sixth to the eleventh century* (1896).

On Gregory, Hodgkin, *op. cit.* v. cc. 7–10; Gregorovius, *History of Rome in*

the Middle Ages, vol. ii. cc. 2, 3 ; Th. Wollschack, *Die Verhältnisse Italiens . . . nach dem Briefwechsel Gregors I.* (1888) ; F. W. Kellett, *Pope Gregory the Great and his Relations with Gaul* (1889) ; C. Wolfsgruber, *Gregor der Grosse* (1890) ; and many other works.

For Persia, Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy* (1876) ; Nöldeke, art. *Persia* in *Encyclopædia Britannica* and *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit d. Sasaniden* [from Tabari] (1879). The expeditions of Heraclius are fully discussed by E. Gerland in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iii. pp. 330–373. A translation of Sebêos by F. C. Conybeare is announced.]

APPENDIX.

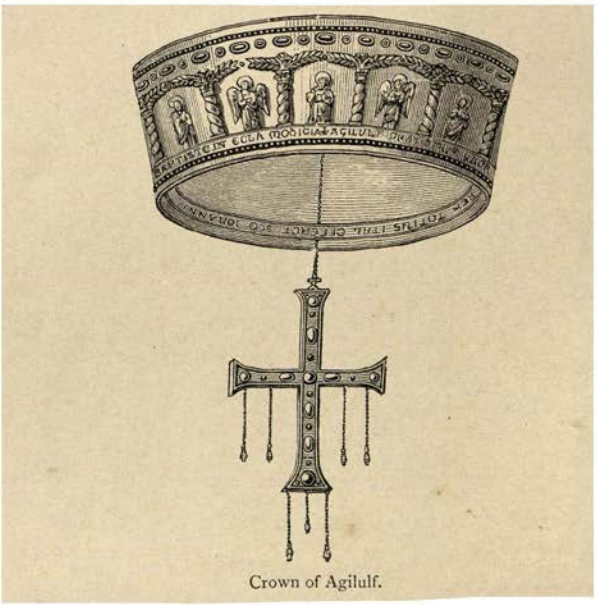
Iron crown of the Lombards.

I. LOMBARD CROWNS.

One of the most interesting relics of Lombard art is the celebrated *Iron Crown* of the Lombards, now preserved in the cathedral of Monza, which is said to have been presented by Pope Gregory the Great to Theudelinda, widow of Autharis and wife of Agilulf (A.D. 590–615), whom she converted from the Arian heresy. It derives its name from the circle of iron, incrusted in the interior, which is supposed to have been forged out of one of the nails of the Cross. It is a golden circlet (about 2 inches high), made of six pieces jointed together, and loaded with sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, interspersed with flowers of gold.* It does not exhibit

* Labarte, *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. 205. Cf. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. vi. p. 570 f., where other references are given.

any great artistic skill on the part of the Lombard or Italian goldsmiths, and is far inferior to the crown of Agilulf, which was set with 65 carbuncles and emeralds and 158 pearls, and ornamented with fifteen figures of gold, representing Christ between two angels and the twelve apostles, while round the foot ran the legend: "Agilulf, the glorious, by grace of God king of all Italy, offered [the crown] to St. John the Baptist in the Church of Monza." Agilulf's crown, which was carried by Napoleon to Paris in ~~1799~~, after the conquest of Italy, was stolen in 1804 from the cabinet of medals in the Imperial Library, and melted down.



Crown of Agilulf.

II. LIST OF PERSIAN KINGS (A.D. 531-642).

Khosrau Anōsharvān (Chosroës)	.	A.D. 531-579
Hormizd IV.		,, 579-590
Chosroës II. Parvēz . . .		,, 590-628
[Bahrām VI.		,, 590]
Kavādh (Kobad) II. Shērōe (Siroes)		,, 628
Ardashīr III.		,, 628-630
. . . . .		.
Yezdegerd III.		,, 632-642 (died 651)

The Empress Eudocia, wife of Basil I., with her sons Leo VI. and Alexander on either side. (From a MS. of Gregory Nazianzen at Paris.)

CHAPTER XXV

SUCCESSION AND CHARACTERS OF THE GREEK EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE FROM THE TIME OF HERACLIUS TO THE LATIN CONQUEST

§ 1. Byzantine History: plan of the remainder of the work. § 2. Second marriage and death of Heraclius. § 3. Constantine III. (A.D. 641): Heracleonas (A.D. 641, May). § 4. Constans II. (A.D. 641-668).

§ 5. Constantine IV., Pogonatus (A.D. 668-685). § 6. Justinian II. (A.D. 685): exiled in A.D. 695: Leontius (A.D. 695-697): Tiberius III., Apsimarus (A.D. 698-705): Justinian's restoration and death (A.D. 705-711). § 7. Philippicus (A.D. 711-713): Anastasius II. (A.D. 713-716, Jan.): Theodosius III. (A.D. 716-717). § 8. Leo III., the Isaurian (A.D. 717-741). § 9. Constantine V., Copronymus (A.D. 741-775). § 10. Leo IV. (A.D. 775-780). § 11. Constantine VI. (A.D. 780-797). § 12. Irene (A.D. 797-802). § 13. Nicephorus I. (A.D. 802-811): Stauracius (A.D. 811): Michael I., Rhangabe (A.D. 811-813). § 14. Leo V., the Armenian (A.D. 813-820). § 15. Michael II., the Amorian (A.D. 820-829). § 16. Theophilus (A.D. 829-842). § 17. Michael III. (A.D. 842-867). § 18. Basil I. (A.D. 867-886). § 19. Leo VI., the Philosopher (A.D. 886-912). § 20. Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 912-959): Colleagues: (1) Alexander: (2) Romanus I., Lecapenus (A.D. 919-944). § 21. Romanus II. (A.D. 959-963): Basil II. (A.D. 963-1025): Regents: (1) Nicephorus II., Phocas (A.D. 963-969). § 22. (2) John I., Zimisces (A.D. 969-976). § 23. Basil II., sole emperor (A.D. 976-1025). § 24. Romanus III. Argyrus (A.D. 1028-1034): Michael IV., the Paphlagonian (A.D. 1034-1041): Michael V., Calaphates (A.D. 1041-1042): Zoe and Theodora (A.D. 1042): Constantine X., Monomachus (A.D. 1042-1054): Michael VI., Stratioticus (A.D. 1056-1057). § 25. Isaac I., Comnenus (A.D. 1057-1059). § 26. Constantine XI., Ducas (A.D. 1059-1067): Romanus IV., Diogenes (A.D. 1067-1071): Michael VII., Parapinaces (A.D. 1071-1078). § 27. Nicephorus III., Botaniates (A.D. 1078-1081). § 28. Alexius I., Comnenus (A.D. 1081-1118). § 29. John II., Comnenus, or Calo-Joannes (A.D. 1118-1143). § 30. Manuel I., Comnenus (A.D. 1143-1180). § 31. Alexius II., Comnenus (A.D. 1180-1183): Andronicus I., Comnenus (A.D. 1183-1185): Isaac II., Angelus.

Byzantine History: plan of the remainder of the work.

§ 1. I HAVE now deduced from Trajan to Constantine, from Constantine to Heraclius, the regular series of the Roman emperors. Five centuries of the decline and fall of the empire have already elapsed; but a period of more than 800 years still separates me from the term of my labours, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Should I persevere in the same course, should I observe the same measure, a prolix and slender thread would be spun through many a volume. At every step, as we sink deeper in the decline and fall of the Eastern empire, the annals of each succeeding reign must continue to repeat a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery; the natural connexion of causes and events would be broken by frequent and hasty transitions, and a minute accumulation of circumstances must destroy the light and effect of those general pictures which compose the use and ornament of a remote history. From the time of Heraclius the Byzantine theatre is contracted and darkened: the line of empire, which had been defined by the laws of Justinian and the arms of Belisarius, recedes on all sides from our view;—and the Roman name, the proper subject of our inquiries, is reduced to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople. But the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world. The space of the lost provinces was immediately

replenished with new colonies and rising kingdoms; the active virtues of peace and war deserted from the vanquished to the victorious nations; and it is in their origin and conquests, in their religion and government, that we must explore the causes and effects of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire. Nor will this scope of narrative, the riches and variety of these materials, be incompatible with the unity of design and composition. As, in his daily prayers, the Musulman of Fez or Delhi still turns his face towards the temple of Mecca, the historian's eye shall be always fixed on the city of Constantinople. The excursive line may embrace the wilds of Arabia and Tartary, but the circle will be ultimately reduced to the decreasing limit of the Roman monarchy.*

On this principle I shall now establish the plan of the remaining chapters of the present work. The first chapter will contain, in a regular series, the emperors who reigned at Constantinople during a period of 600 years, from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest. In this introduction I shall confine myself to the revolutions of the throne, the succession of families, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domestic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or suspend the downfall of the Eastern empire. Such a chronological review will serve to illustrate the various argument of the subsequent chapters; and each circumstance of the eventful story of the barbarians will adapt itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. After this foundation of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes. I. The FRANKS; a general appellation which includes all the barbarians of France, Italy, and

* One of the great results of historical criticism since Gibbon's time has been the reversal of this judgment about the "Lower" empire. Few will now deny that the Byzantine empire was very *actively* connected with the revolutions that follow; but for its activity, subsequent history would have been very different. Gibbon's attitude unfortunately led him to dismiss the internal history of the empire during five and a half centuries in this single superficial chapter; and hence the "splendid revolutions" are detached from the general run of Imperial history, and the great part played by the empire between A.D. 641 and 1204 is obscured. The student will find it helpful to bear in mind the well-marked divisions into which the period falls—

I. The Heraclian Dynasty (A.D. 641-695), followed by twenty-two years of anarchy (A.D. 695-717). Century VII. *A period of decline:* invasions of Saracens and Slavs.

II. The Iconoclast Emperors (A.D. 717-867). Centuries VIII.-IX. (first half). *Regeneration of the Empire:* the "Isaurian" Dynasty (A.D. 717-802) stems the tide of Saracen conquest, and its successors (A.D. 802-867) maintain the struggle without loss (and even with some gain).

III. The Basilian ("Macedonian") Dynasty (A.D. 867-1057). Centuries IX. (second half)-XI. (first half). *Expansion of the Empire:* the Saracens are driven out of Asia Minor and part of Syria.

IV. The Comnenian Dynasty (A.D. 1057-1204). Centuries XI.-XII. *Decline:* Seljuk conquests; a temporary revival (A.D. 1118-1181); final decay under the Angeli.

Germany, who were united by the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne. The persecution of images and their votaries separated Rome and Italy from the Byzantine throne, and prepared the restoration of the Roman empire in the West. II. The ARABS or SARACENS. First, I shall investigate the character of Mahomet; the character, religion, and success of the prophet. I shall then lead the Arabs to the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the provinces of the Roman empire; nor can I check their victorious career till they have overthrown the monarchies of Persia and Spain. Lastly, I shall inquire how Constantinople and Europe were saved by the luxury and arts, the division and decay, of the empire of the caliphs. A single chapter will include, III. The BULGARIANS, IV. HUNGARIANS, and, V. RUSSIANS, who assaulted by sea or by land the provinces and the capital; but the last of these, so important in their present greatness, will excite some curiosity in their origin and infancy. VI. The NORMANS; or rather the private adventurers of that warlike people, who founded a powerful kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, shook the throne of Constantinople, displayed the trophies of chivalry, and almost realized the wonders of romance. VII. The LATINS; the subjects of the pope, the nations of the West, who enlisted under the banner of the cross for the recovery or relief of the holy sepulchre. In these memorable crusades a fleet and army of French and Venetians were diverted from Syria to the Thracian Bosporus; they assaulted the capital, they subverted the Greek monarchy; and a dynasty of Latin princes was seated near threescore years on the throne of Constantine. VIII. The GREEKS themselves, during this period of captivity and exile, must be considered as a foreign nation: the enemies, and again the sovereigns of Constantinople. Misfortune had rekindled a spark of national virtue; and the Imperial series may be continued with some dignity from their restoration to the Turkish conquest. IX. The MONGOLS and TARTARS. By the arms of Tchingis and his descendants the globe was shaken from China to Poland and Greece; the sultans were overthrown; the caliphs fell, and the Cæsars trembled on their throne. The victories of Timour suspended above fifty years the final ruin of the Byzantine empire. X. I have already noticed the first appearance of the TURKS; and the names of the fathers, of *Seljuk* and *Othman*, discriminate the two successive dynasties of the nation which emerged in the eleventh century from the Scythian wilderness. The former established a potent and splendid kingdom from the banks of the Oxus to Antioch and Nice; and the first crusade was provoked by the violation of Jerusalem and the danger of Constantinople. From a humble origin the *Ottomans* arose the scourge and terror of Christendom. Constantinople was besieged and taken by Mahomet II., and his triumph annihilates the remnant, the image, the title, of the Roman empire in the East. The schism of the Greeks will be connected

with their last calamities and the restoration of learning in the Western world. I shall return from the captivity of the new to the ruins of ancient ROME; and the venerable name, the interesting theme, will shed a ray of glory on the conclusion of my labours.

[I. THE HERACLIAN DYNASTY (A.D. 641–717).]

Second marriage and death of Heraclius.

§ 2. The Emperor Heraclius had punished a tyrant and ascended his throne; and the memory of his reign is perpetuated by the transient conquest and irreparable loss of the Eastern provinces. After the death of Eudocia, his first wife, he disobeyed the patriarch and violated the laws by his second marriage with his niece Martina (A.D. 614). The ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a stepmother; and the aged husband was too feeble to withstand the arts of conjugal allurements. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed in a mature age the title of Augustus; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague and a guardian; and Heracleonas, the son of Martina, was associated with him in the empire. Heraclius survived this event about two years; his last testimony declared his two sons the equal heirs of the Eastern empire, and commanded them to honour his widow Martina as their mother and their sovereign (A.D. 641).

Constantine III. (A.D. 641).

§ 3. When Martina first appeared on the throne with the name and attributes of royalty, she was checked by a firm, though respectful, opposition; and was compelled to descend from the throne with indignation, and seek a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Constantine III. lasted only 103 days; he expired in the 30th year of his age, and, although his life had been a long malady, a belief was entertained that poison had been the means, and his cruel stepmother the author, of his untimely fate. Martina reaped indeed the harvest of his death, and assumed the government in the name of the surviving emperor; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred; the jealousy of the people was awakened, and the two orphans whom Constantine had left became the objects of the public care. The senate, supported by the soldiers and people, deposed the Imperial culprits, and condemned them as the authors of the death of Constantine. Martina and Heracleonas were sentenced to the amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his nose; and after this cruel execution they consumed the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion (A.D. 641).

Heracleonas (A.D. 641, May).

Constans II. (A.D. 641–668).

§ 4. Constans II., the eldest son of Constantine III., was only 11 years of age when he ascended the throne. Upon attaining the age of manhood, he was tormented by a jealous fear lest the senate or people should one day invade the right of primogeniture, and seat his brother Theodosius on an equal

throne. By the imposition of holy orders, the grandson of Heraclius was disqualified for the purple; but this ceremony was insufficient to appease the suspicions of the tyrant, and the death of the deacon Theodosius could alone expiate the crime of his royal birth. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the assassin, in the fulness of power, was driven from his capital into voluntary and perpetual exile (A.D. 662). Constans embarked for Greece: after passing the winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum in Italy, visited Rome, where he pillaged the churches, and concluded a long pilgrimage of disgrace and sacrilegious rapine by fixing his residence at Syracuse. But if Constans could fly from his people, he could not fly from himself. The remorse of his conscience created a phantom who pursued him by land and sea, by day and by night; and the visionary Theodosius, presenting to his lips a cup of blood, said, or seemed to say, "Drink, brother, drink"—a sure emblem of the aggravation of his guilt, since he had received from the hands of the deacon the mystic cup of the blood of Christ. Odious to himself and to mankind, Constans perished by domestic treason in the capital of Sicily.*

Constantine IV., Pogonatus (A.D. 668–685).

§ 5. The news of the murder of Constans was conveyed with almost supernatural speed from Syracuse to Constantinople; and Constantine IV., the eldest of his three sons, inherited his throne without being the heir of the public hatred. He received the surname of Pogonatus from the growth of his young beard during a voyage to Sicily, which he undertook immediately after his accession, to repress the revolt of a youth who had assumed the Imperial purple after his father's death. But his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained with fraternal discord. His two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, conspired against him and were deprived of their titles and noses, in the presence of the Catholic bishops who were assembled at Constantinople in the sixth general synod.†

Justinian II. (A.D. 685): exiled in A.D. 695.

§ 6. After the decease of his father the inheritance of the Roman world devolved upon Justinian II. (A.D. 685–695), and the name of a triumphant lawgiver was dishonoured by the vices of a boy. His passions were strong; his understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest community would not have chosen him for their local magistrate. Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla the cruelty of the Roman princes had most commonly been the

* This account of Constans is very inadequate. The object of his visit to the West was really to endeavour to prevent Saracen aggression in Sicily and Africa, and to recover the southern part of Italy from the Lombards. His unpopularity was largely due to his ecclesiastical policy. He was a man of great energy, but his political ideas were rather perverse. (Cf. especially Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. c. 8.)

† In his reign occurred the first siege of Constantinople by the Saracens (ch. xxviii. § 9), and the establishment of the Bulgarian kingdom (ch. xxx. § 1).

effect of their fear; but Justinian, who possessed some vigour of character, enjoyed the sufferings, and braved the revenge, of his subjects about ten years, till the measure was full of his crimes and of their patience. Leontius, a general of reputation, was proclaimed emperor; and Justinian, in whose cause not a sword had been drawn, was dragged before the people assembled in the hippodrome, whose clamours demanded the instant death of the tyrant. But Leontius cast an eye of pity on the prostrate son of his own benefactor and of so many emperors. The life of Justinian was spared; the amputation of his nose, perhaps of his tongue, was imperfectly performed; the happy flexibility of the Greek language could impose the name of Rhinotmetus; and the mutilated tyrant was banished to the land of the Chersonites, in Crim-Tartary (A.D. 695). Leontius (A.D. 695–697).

On the edge of the Scythian wilderness Justinian still cherished the pride of his birth and the hope of his restoration. After three years' exile he received the pleasing intelligence that his injury was avenged by a second revolution, and that Leontius in his turn had been dethroned and mutilated by the rebel Apsimarus, who assumed the more respectable name of Tiberius.* But the claim of lineal succession was still formidable to a plebeian usurper; and his jealousy was stimulated by the complaints and charges of the Chersonites, who beheld the vices of the tyrant in the spirit of the exile. Justinian fled from the inhospitable shore to the horde of the Khazars, who pitched their tents between the Tanais (Don) and Borysthenes (Dnieper). The khan entertained with pity and respect the royal suppliant, and gave him his sister in marriage, who seems, however, from the name of Theodora, to have received the sacrament of baptism. But the faithless Khazar was soon tempted by the gold of Constantinople; and had not the design been revealed by the conjugal love of Theodora, her husband must have been assassinated or betrayed into the power of his enemies. After strangling, with his own hands, the two emissaries of the khan, Justinian sent back his wife to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in search of new and more faithful allies. His vessel was assaulted by a violent tempest; and one of his pious companions advised him to deserve the mercy of God by a vow of general forgiveness if he should be restored to the throne. "Of forgiveness?" replied the intrepid tyrant: "may I perish this instant—may the Almighty whelm me in the waves, if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies!" He survived this impious menace, sailed into the mouth of the Danube, trusted his person in the royal village of the Bulgarians, and purchased the aid of Terbelis, a pagan conqueror, by the promise of his daughter, and a fair partition of the treasures of Tiberius III. Apsimarus (A.D. 698–705).

* For these reigns, Bury, *op. cit.*, ii. c. 13. Africa is lost to the Arabs (698), see ch. xxviii. § 5. In A.D. 703 the Saracens conquered part of Armenia (beyond the Euphrates, *Armenia quarta*), but were defeated in Cilicia.

the empire. The Bulgarian kingdom extended to the confines of Thrace; * and the two princes besieged Constantinople at the head of fifteen thousand horse. Apsimarus was dismayed by the sudden and hostile apparition of his rival, whose head had been promised by the Khazar, and of whose evasion he was yet ignorant. After an absence of ten years (A.D. 695–705) the crimes of Justinian were faintly remembered; and by the active diligence of his adherents he was introduced into the city and palace of Constantine.

Justinian's restoration and death (A.D. 705–711).

In rewarding his allies and recalling his wife, Justinian displayed some sense of honour and gratitude; and Terbelis retired, after sweeping away a heap of gold coin which he measured with his Scythian whip. But never was vow more religiously performed than the sacred oath of revenge which he had sworn amidst the storms of the Euxine. The two usurpers were dragged, the one from his prison, the other from his palace, and were put to death with a slow variety of tortures. Neither private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active, or even passive, obedience to an established government; and, during the six years of his new reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack as the only instruments of royalty. But his most implacable hatred was pointed against the Chersonites, who had insulted his exile and violated the laws of hospitality. "All are guilty, and all must perish," was the mandate of Justinian; and the bloody execution was intrusted to his favourite Stephen, who was recommended by the epithet of the Savage. Yet even the savage Stephen imperfectly accomplished the intentions of his sovereign; and a second expedition was commanded to extirpate the remains of the proscribed colony. In the short interval the Chersonites had returned to their city, and were prepared to die in arms; the khan of the Khazars had renounced the cause of his odious brother; the exiles of every province were assembled in Tauris; and Bardanes, under the name of Philippicus, was invested with the purple. The Imperial troops, unwilling and unable to perpetrate the revenge of Justinian, escaped his displeasure by abjuring his allegiance; the fleet, under their new sovereign, steered back a more auspicious course to the harbours of Sinope and Constantinople; and every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every hand to execute, the death of the tyrant. Destitute of friends, he was deserted by his barbarian guards; and the stroke of the assassin was praised as an act of patriotism and Roman virtue. His son Tiberius had taken refuge in a church; but the popular fury was deaf to the cries of humanity; and the race of Heraclius was extinguished after a reign of 100 years (A.D. 711).

Philippicus (A.D. 711–713):

§ 7. Between the fall of the Heraclian and the rise of the Isaurian dynasty, a short interval of six years is divided into

* Ch. xxx. § 1.

three reigns. After a reign of two years Philippicus was murdered in his chamber (A.D. 713). But the traitors were deprived of their reward; and the free voice of the senate and people promoted Artemius from the office of secretary to that of emperor: he assumed the title of Anastasius II., and displayed in a short and troubled reign the virtues both of peace and war. But after the extinction of the Imperial line the rule of obedience was violated, and every change diffused the seeds of new revolutions. In a mutiny of the fleet an obscure and reluctant officer of the revenue was forcibly invested with the purple; after some months of a naval war, Anastasius resigned the sceptre (A.D. 716); and the conqueror, Theodosius III., submitted in his turn to the superior ascendant of Leo, the general and emperor of the Oriental troops (A.D. 717). The last days of Theodosius were honourable and secure. The single sublime word "HEALTH," which he inscribed on his tomb, expresses the confidence of philosophy and religion; and the fame of his miracles was long preserved among the people of Ephesus.

Anastasius II. (A.D. 713–716, Jan.): Theodosius III. (A.D. 716–717).

[II. THE ICONOCLASTIC PERIOD (A.D. 717–867): THE "ISAURIAN" DYNASTY AND ITS SUCCESSORS.]

§ 8. Leo III., the Isaurian,* was the founder of a new dynasty. He is known to posterity by the invectives of his enemies, and his public and private life is involved in the ecclesiastical story

Leo III. the Isaurian (A.D. 717–740).

Gold coin of Leo III. (from the British Museum). Obverse: bust of Leo with D. LEON. PЄ. AV. (*Dominus Leon Perpetuus Augustus*).—Reverse: a cross upon steps, with VICTORIA AVGV. (*Augusti*), and in Exergue CONOB, respecting which see vol. i. p. 403.

of the Iconoclasts. Yet in spite of the clamours of superstition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Isaurian may be reasonably drawn from the obscurity of his birth and the duration of his reign. His first service was in the guards of

* He was almost certainly a Syrian, for he came from Germaniceia (Marash) in Commagene. (Cf. Schenk in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1896, p. 296 ff.) Theophanes in one passage calls him ὁ Ἴσαυρος, immediately adding that he came from Germaniceia "but in reality from Isauria"—probably a corrupt reading for *Syria* (as the Latin translation of Anastasius shows). [Prof. Bury points out that in another passage Theophanes actually calls Leo "the Syrian."]

Justinian II., where he soon attracted the notice, and by degrees the jealousy, of the tyrant. His valour and dexterity were conspicuous in the Colchian war ;* from Anastasius he received the command of the Anatolian legions, and by the suffrage of the soldiers he was raised to the empire with the general applause of the Roman world. In this dangerous elevation Leo III. supported himself against the envy of his equals, the discontent of a powerful faction, and the assaults of his foreign and domestic enemies. The Catholics, who accuse his religious innovations, are obliged to confess that they were undertaken with temper and conducted with firmness. Their silence respects the wisdom of his administration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of 24 years (A.D. 717–741) † he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople; and the purple which he had acquired was transmitted by the right of inheritance to the third generation.‡

Constantine V., Copronymus (A.D. 741–775).

§ 9. In a long reign of 34 years the son and successor of Leo, Constantine V., surnamed Copronymus, from his pollution of the baptismal font,§ attacked with less temperate zeal the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhausted the bitterness of religious gall in their portrait of this spotted panther, this antichrist, this flying dragon of the serpent's seed, who surpassed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. But without believing all the accusations of his enemies, there is reason to believe that Constantine V. was dissolute and cruel. Yet his character was not devoid of merit, nor did his government always deserve the curses or the contempt of the Greeks. From the confession of his enemies I am informed of the restoration of an ancient aqueduct, of the redemption of 2500 captives, of the uncommon plenty of the times, and of the new colonies with

* Bury, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 374–377.

† There is a difficulty about the chronology of the years 727–775. During that period the years of the world in Theophanes' *Chronographia* are a year behind his indictional years, which have been usually followed. Professor Bury argued in favour of the years of the world (*History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii. pp. 425–427), and recently M. Hubert has developed his view (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1897, p. 491 ff.); and Mr. Hodgkin accepts the new dating. According to this view, the received dates are a year too high (*e.g.* the date of Leo's death would be A.D. 740). But they have not yet proved their case: see Mr. Brooks' rejoinder in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1899, p. 82 ff.

‡ For Leo's brilliant reign, see Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. c. i. ; Bury, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 401 ff. ; and Schenk, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1896, p. 257 ff. He was the first to effectually stop the onward rush of Mohammedanism (see ch. xxviii. § 10, for the siege of Constantinople at the beginning of his reign). For his proscription of image-worship (Iconoclasm), see ch. xxvi., *init.* His legislation, especially his agricultural code, is of great importance (cf. Appendix to this chapter).

§ Probably the surname, like his other nickname, *Kaballinos*, arose (as Ranke says, v. pt. ii. p. 80 *n.*) "from the stable rather than from the swaddling-clothes;" but the orthodox writers gave an explanation which expressed their contempt for Constantine's views about infant baptism (which, as a Paulician, he rejected: see ch. xxix. § 16).

which he repeopled Constantinople and the Thracian cities.* They reluctantly praise his activity and courage; he was on horseback in the field at the head of his legions; and, although the fortune of his arms was various, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and barbarian war.†

Leo IV. (A.D. 775-780).

§ 10. Leo IV., the son of the fifth and the father of the sixth Constantine, was surnamed the Khazar. Constantine V. had chosen a barbarian wife, the daughter of the Khan of the Khazars; but in the marriage of his heir he preferred an Athenian virgin, an orphan, seventeen years old, named Irene, whose sole fortune must have consisted in her personal accomplishments. Leo was of a feeble constitution both of mind and body, and the principal care of his reign was the settlement of the succession. The association of the young Constantine was urged by the officious zeal of his subjects; and the emperor, conscious of his decay, complied, after a prudent hesitation, with their unanimous wishes. The royal infant, at the age of five years, was crowned with his mother Irene, who soon acquired the love and confidence of a feeble husband.

Constantine VI. (A.D. 780-797).

§ 11. Leo in his testament declared the empress Irene guardian of the Roman world, and of their son Constantine VI., who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene most ably and assiduously discharged, in her public administration, the duties of a faithful mother; and her zeal in the restoration of images has deserved the name and honours of a saint, which she still occupies in the Greek calendar.‡ But the emperor attained the maturity of youth; the maternal yoke became more grievous; and he listened to the favourites of his own age, who shared his pleasures, and were ambitious of sharing his power.§ Their reasons convinced him of his right, their praises of his ability, to reign; and he consented to reward the services of Irene by a perpetual banishment to the isle of Sicily. But her vigilance and penetration easily disconcerted their rash projects; a similar, or more severe, punishment was retaliated on themselves and their advisers; and Irene inflicted

* See p. 167. Constantinople was depopulated by a great plague in 749. See Finlay, vol. ii. p. 64; and Bury, vol. ii. p. 453 ff.

† Against the Saracens and Bulgarians. For the former, Finlay, ii. p. 50; Bury, ii. pp. 406, 407, etc. For the Bulgarians, Bury, p. 470 ff., etc. Constantine was a very able ruler. His persecution of image-worship and monasticism was no blind fanaticism: superstition and monachism between them were ruining the empire.

‡ See ch. xxvi. § 7.

§ During his minority the Saracens, under the vigorous Harun-ar-Rashid, marched to the Bosporus, and extorted an annual tribute from the empire (A.D. 781, see c. xxviii. § 18). But after the end of the seventh century the Arabs failed to extend their borders in Asia Minor; henceforth their expeditions, numerous though they were, were all mere razzias, devastating the country and threatening the capital, but not resulting in any permanent conquest. The Tauros mountains proved an impassable barrier.

on the ungrateful prince the chastisement of a boy. After this contest the mother and the son were at the head of two domestic factions; and instead of mild influence and voluntary obedience, she held in chains a captive and an enemy. The empress was overthrown by the abuse of victory; the oath of fidelity, which she exacted to herself alone, was pronounced with reluctant murmurs; and the bold refusal of the Armenian guards encouraged a free and general declaration that Constantine VI. was the lawful emperor of the Romans (A.D. 790). In this character he ascended his hereditary throne, and dismissed Irene to a life of solitude and repose. But her haughty spirit condescended to the arts of dissimulation: she flattered the bishops and eunuchs, revived the filial tenderness of the prince, regained his confidence, and betrayed his credulity. A powerful conspiracy was formed for the restoration of Irene; and the secret, though widely diffused, was faithfully kept above eight months, till the emperor, suspicious of his danger, escaped from Constantinople with the design of appealing to the provinces and armies. But the conspirators seized the emperor on the Asiatic shore, and he was transported to the porphyry apartment of the palace, where he had first seen the light. In the mind of Irene ambition had stifled every sentiment of humanity and nature; and it was decreed in her bloody council that Constantine should be rendered incapable of the throne. The emperor was deprived of his sight (A.D. 797), and the blind son of Irene survived many years, oppressed by the court and forgotten by the world; the Isaurian dynasty was silently extinguished; and the memory of Constantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his daughter Euphrosyne with the emperor Michael II.

Irene (A.D. 797–802).

§ 12. The most bigoted orthodoxy has justly execrated the unnatural mother, who may not easily be paralleled in the history of crimes. On earth, the crime of Irene was left five years unpunished; her reign (A.D. 797–802) was crowned with

Gold coin of Irene, struck during her sole reign (from the British Museum).—Bust of Irene, with EIRINH BASILISSH, both on obverse and reverse.

external splendour; and if she could silence the voice of conscience, she neither heard nor regarded the reproaches of mankind. The Roman world bowed to the government of a female; and as she moved through the streets of Constantinople the reins of four milk-white steeds were held by as many patricians,

who marched on foot before the golden chariot of their queen. But these patricians were for the most part eunuchs; and their black ingratitude justified, on this occasion, the popular hatred and contempt. Raised, enriched, entrusted with the first dignities of the empire, they basely conspired against their benefactress; the great treasurer Nicephorus was secretly invested with the purple; her successor was introduced into the palace, and crowned at St. Sophia by the venal patriarch. The empress was banished to Lesbos, where she earned a scanty subsistence by the labours of her distaff.

Nicephorus I. (A.D. 802-811).

§ 13. Many tyrants have reigned undoubtedly more criminal than Nicephorus I. (A.D. 802-811), but none perhaps have more deeply incurred the universal abhorrence of their people. His character was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice:* his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was vanquished by the Saracens and slain by the Bulgarians;† and the advantage of his death overbalanced, in the public opinion, the destruction of a Roman army. His son and heir Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound; yet six months of an expiring life were sufficient to refute his indecent, though popular declaration, that he would in all things avoid the example of his father (A.D. 811). He was succeeded by Michael, the husband of his sister Procopia. Had Michael I. in an age of peace ascended an hereditary throne, he might have reigned and died the father of his people; but his mild virtues were adapted to the shade of private life, nor was he capable of controlling the ambition of his equals, or of resisting the arms of the victorious Bulgarians. While his want of ability and success exposed him to the contempt of the soldiers, the masculine spirit of his wife Procopia awakened their indignation. Even the Greeks of the ninth century were provoked by the insolence of a female who, in the front of the standards, presumed to direct their discipline and animate their valour; and their licentious clamours advised the new Semiramis to reverence the majesty of a Roman camp. After an unsuccessful campaign the emperor left, in their winter-quarters of Thrace, a disaffected army under the command of his enemies,‡ and their artful eloquence persuaded the soldiers to break the dominion of the eunuchs, to degrade the husband of Procopia, and to assert the

Stauracius (A.D. 811).

Michael I., Rhangabe (A.D. 811-813).

* Nicephorus was really in the same position as Maurice—compelled to adopt a policy of retrenchment after the extravagance of his predecessor. His financial administration, as Finlay shows, was severe, but he "does not merit the reproach of avarice:" on the contrary, when he deemed expenditure necessary for the empire, he was liberal (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 97).

† See ch. xxx. § 1.

‡ Michael suffered a severe defeat near Adrianople at the hands of the Bulgarians, under their savage king Krumn (813); the victory was followed up by a siege of Constantinople.

right of a military election. They marched towards the capital; yet the clergy, the senate, and the people of Constantinople adhered to the cause of Michael; and the troops and treasures of Asia might have protracted the mischiefs of civil war. But his humanity protested that not a drop of Christian blood should be shed in his quarrel, and his messengers presented the conquerors with the keys of the city and the palace. They were disarmed by his innocence and submission; his life and his eyes were spared; and the Imperial monk enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion above thirty-two years after he had been stripped of the purple and separated from his wife.

Leo V., the Armenian (A.D. 813–820).

§ 14. A rebel, in the time of Nicephorus, the famous and unfortunate Bardanes had once the curiosity to consult an Asiatic prophet, who, after prognosticating his fall, announced the fortunes of his three principal officers, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Phrygian, and Thomas the Cappadocian, the successive reigns of the two former, the fruitless and fatal enterprise of the third. This prediction was verified, or rather was produced, by the event. Ten years afterwards, when the Thracian camp rejected the husband of Procopia, the crown was presented to the same Leo, the first in military rank and the secret author of the mutiny. As he affected to hesitate, "With this sword," said his companion Michael, "I will open the gates of Constantinople to your Imperial sway, or instantly plunge it into your bosom, if you obstinately resist the just desires of your fellow-soldiers." The compliance of the Armenian was rewarded with the empire, and he reigned seven years and a half (A.D. 813–820) under the name of Leo V. Educated in a camp, and ignorant both of laws and letters, he introduced into his civil government the rigour and even cruelty of military discipline; but if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. His religious inconstancy was taxed by the epithet of Chameleon, but the Catholics have acknowledged, by the voice of a saint and confessors, that the life of the Iconoclast was useful to the republic.* The zeal of his companion Michael was repaid with riches, honours, and military command; and his subordinate talents were beneficially employed in the public service. Yet the Phrygian † was dissatisfied at receiving as a favour a scanty portion of the Imperial prize which he had bestowed on his equal; and his discontent at length assumed a more threatening and hostile aspect against a prince whom he represented as a cruel tyrant. That tyrant, however, repeatedly detected, warned, and dismissed the old companion of his arms, till fear and resentment prevailed over

* In 815 the Bulgarians were preparing a fresh siege of Constantinople, when king Krumn died. Leo then took the field, and inflicted a severe defeat on the enemy. A peace was concluded with the next prince, Omortag, and lasted until the time of Simeon, A.D. 892 (see ch. xxx. § 1).

† Michael was a native of Amorion.

gratitude; and Michael, after a scrutiny into his actions and designs, was convicted of treason, and sentenced to be burnt alive in the furnace of the private baths. The devout humanity of the empress Theophano was fatal to her husband and family. A solemn day, the 25th of December, had been fixed for the execution; she urged that the anniversary of the Saviour's birth would be profaned by this inhuman spectacle, and Leo consented with reluctance to a decent respite. The friends of Michael, clad in the ecclesiastical habit, but with swords under their robes, mingled with the procession, which was admitted into the palace by a private gate to sing matins in the chapel. Leo was encompassed on all sides by the conspirators. Without a weapon and without a friend, he grasped a weighty cross, and stood at bay against the hunters of his life; but as he asked for mercy, "This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance," was the inexorable reply. The stroke of a well-aimed sword separated from his body the right arm and the cross, and Leo the Armenian was slain at the foot of the altar.

Michael II., the Amorian (A.D. 820–829).

§ 15. A memorable reverse of fortune was displayed in Michael II., who from a defect in his speech was surnamed the Stammerer. He was snatched from the fiery furnace to the sovereignty of an empire; and as in the tumult a smith could not readily be found, the fetters remained on his legs several hours after he was seated on the throne of the Cæsars. The royal blood which had been the price of his elevation was unprofitably spent; in the purple he retained the ignoble vices of his origin; and Michael lost his provinces with as supine indifference as if they had been the inheritance of his fathers.* His title was disputed by Thomas, the last of the military triumvirate, who transported into Europe fourscore thousand barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the shores of the Caspian [A.D. 822]. He formed the siege of Constantinople; but a Bulgarian king assaulted the camp of the Orientals, and Thomas had the misfortune or the weakness to fall alive into the power of the conqueror. The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; he was placed on an ass, and, amidst the insults of the people, was led through the streets, which he sprinkled with his blood.† After the death of his first wife, the emperor, at the request of the senate, drew from her monastery Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine VI. Her august birth might justify a stipulation in the marriage-contract that her children should equally share the empire with their elder brother. But the nuptials of Michael and Euphrosyne were barren; and she was content with the title of mother of Theophilus, his son and successor.

* In his reign Crete was lost to the Arabs, and attacks on Sicily begin (see ch. xxviii. § 19).

† On the rebellion of Thomas, which was supported by the subject classes, and had something of the "character of a social revolution," see Finlay, vol. ii. p. 130.

Theophilus (A.D. 829-842).

§ 16. The character of Theophilus is a rare example in which religious zeal has allowed and perhaps magnified the virtues of a heretic and a persecutor. His valour was often felt by the enemies, and his justice by the subjects, of the monarchy; but the valour of Theophilus was rash and fruitless, and his justice arbitrary and cruel. He displayed the banner of the cross against the Saracens; but his five expeditions were concluded by a signal overthrow: Amorium, the native city of his ancestors, was levelled with the ground,* and from his military toils he derived only the surname of the Unfortunate. The justice of Theophilus was fashioned on the model of the Oriental despots, who, in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult the reason or passion of the moment, without measuring the sentence by the law, or the penalty by the offence. For some venial offences, some defect of equity or vigilance, the principal ministers, a præfect, a quæstor, a captain of the guards, were banished or mutilated, or scalded with boiling pitch, or burnt alive in the hippodrome; and as these dreadful examples might be the effects of error or caprice, they must have alienated from his service the best and wisest of the citizens.† But the pride of the monarch was flattered in the exercise of power, or, as he thought, of virtue; and the people, safe in their obscurity, applauded the danger and debasement of their superiors.

Michael III. (A.D. 842-867).

§ 17. Theophilus entrusted his wife, Theodora, with the guardianship of the empire and her son Michael III., who was left an orphan in the fifth year of his age. The restoration of images, and the final extirpation of the Iconoclasts, has endeared the name of Theodora to the devotion of the Greeks. After fourteen years of a prudent and frugal administration, she perceived the decline of her influence; but the second Irene imitated only the virtues of her predecessor. Instead of conspiring against the life or government of her son, she retired without a struggle, though not without a murmur, to the solitude of private life, deploring the ingratitude, the vices, and the inevitable ruin of the worthless youth. Among the successors of Nero and Elagabalus we have not hitherto found the imitation of their vices, the character of a Roman prince who considered pleasure as the object of life, and virtue as the enemy of pleasure. But the unfortunate son of Theodora was a king before he was a man. Like Nero, he delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and sighed to be surpassed in the accomplishments in which he should have blushed to excel. Yet the studies of Nero in music and poetry betrayed some symptoms of a liberal taste; the more ignoble arts of the son of Theophilus were confined to the chariot-race of the hippodrome. The four factions which had agitated the peace, still

* This was a mere predatory raid in revenge for Theophilus' expedition into Commagene (cf. § 11, *note*).

† These cruelties are not well attested.

amused the idleness of the capital; for himself, the emperor assumed the blue livery; the three rival colours were distributed to his favourites, and in the vile though eager contention he forgot the dignity of his person and the safety of his dominions. He silenced the messenger of an invasion, who presumed to divert his attention in the most critical moment of the race; and by his command the importunate beacons were extinguished, that too frequently spread the alarm from Tarsus to Constantinople.* But the most extraordinary feature in the character of Michael is the profane mockery of the religion of his country. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the patriarch; his twelve metropolitans, among whom the emperor was ranked, assumed their ecclesiastical garments; they used or abused the sacred vessels of the altar; and in their bacchanalian feasts the holy communion was administered in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. By this extravagant conduct the son of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was odious; every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the thirtieth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael III. was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.

[III. THE BASILIAN ("MACEDONIAN") DYNASTY (A.D. 867–1057).]

§ 18. Basil I., the Macedonian, was a native of Adrianople, and an Armenian by race,† but he claimed a connection by some dark affinity of lineage or country with the Macedonian Alexander. In his infancy his family, and his city, were swept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians; he was educated a slave in a foreign land; and in this severe discipline he acquired the hardiness of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. In the age of youth or manhood he shared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who generously broke their fetters, marched through Bulgaria to the shores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of barbarians, embarked in the ships which had been stationed for their reception, and returned

Basil I. (A.D. 867–886).

* For the line of beacons which telegraphed the news of an invasion to Constantinople, see Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 352, etc.; for mountain telegraphy in more ancient times, cf. Tozer, *History of Ancient Geography*, p. 328 ff.

† This is proved by a statement in an important work, *Vita Euthymii* (written soon after A.D. 917), published by De Boor (1888), and by the fact that his brother's name was Symbatios. We know that Armenian families were settled in Thrace by Constantine V., Copronymus.

to Constantinople, from whence they were distributed to their respective homes. Basil entered the service of a cousin and namesake of the emperor Theophilus, attended his patron to the government of Peloponnesus, and formed a useful connection with a wealthy and charitable matron of Patras, who adopted him as her son. Danielis presented him with thirty slaves; and the produce of her bounty was expended in the support of his brothers and the purchase of some large estates in Macedonia. His gratitude or ambition still attached him to the service of Theophilus; a lucky accident recommended him to the notice of the court;* he soon obtained the confidence of Michael and was at length invested with the title of Augustus and the government of the empire [May, 866]. He supported this unequal association till his influence was fortified by popular esteem. His life was endangered by the caprice of the emperor; and his dignity was profaned by a second colleague, who had rowed in the galleys. Yet the murder of his benefactor must be condemned as an act of ingratitude and treason; and the churches which he dedicated to the name of St. Michael were a poor and puerile expiation of his guilt.

The life or panegyric of Basil has been composed and published under the long reign of his descendants; but even their stability on the throne may be justly ascribed to the superior merit of their ancestor. In his character, his grandson Constantine has attempted to delineate a perfect image of royalty; but the most solid praise of Basil is drawn from the comparison of a ruined and a flourishing monarchy, that which he wrested from the dissolute Michael, and that which he bequeathed to the Macedonian dynasty. The evils which had been sanctified by time and example were corrected by his master-hand; and he revived, if not the national spirit, at least the order and majesty of the Roman empire. His military service had been confined to the palace; nor was the emperor endowed with the spirit or the talents of a warrior. Yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the barbarians. As soon as he had formed a new army by discipline and exercise, he appeared in person on the banks of the Euphrates, curbed the pride of the Saracens,† and suppressed the dangerous though just revolt of the Manichæans.‡ But his principal merit was in the civil administration of the finances and of the laws. The change of language and manners demanded a revision of the obsolete jurisprudence of Justinian; the voluminous body of his Institutes, Pandects, Code, and Novels was digested under forty titles, in the Greek idiom; and the *Basilica,* which were improved

* His skill in subduing a vicious horse led to his promotion to "an honourable rank in the Imperial stables."

† It was the great work of the early "Macedonian" emperors in driving back the Saracens and securing the Eastern frontiers that rendered possible the expansion of the empire in the tenth century.

‡ *I.e.* Paulicians (see ch. xxix. § 14 ff.).

and completed by his son and grandson, must be referred to the original genius of the founder of their race.

§ 19. Of the four sons of Basil, Constantine died before his father; Stephen, the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; both Leo and Alexander were alike invested with the purple, but the powers of government were

Leo VI., the Philosopher (A.D. 886–912).

Gold coin of Basil I. and his son Constantine (from the British Museum).—Obverse: busts of the two emperors, holding large cross, with BASILIOS ET CONSTANT. AVGG. Reverse: the Saviour seated, with + IHS. XPS. REX REGNANTIVM.

solely exercised by the elder brother. The name of Leo VI. (A.D. 886–912) has been dignified with the title of *philosopher;* but if we inquire the reason of his sage appellation, it can only be replied that the son of Basil was less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state; that his education had been directed by the learned Photius;* and that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed by the pen, or in the name, of the Imperial *philosopher.* But the reputation of his philosophy and religion was overthrown by a domestic vice, the repetition of his nuptials. According to the Greek Church, after the death of either party the survivor might marry a *second* time; but a *third* marriage was censured as a state of legal fornication; and a *fourth* was a sin or scandal as yet unknown to the Christians of the East. In his three first alliances Leo had no children; and after the birth of a son by his concubine Zoe, the emperor declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child by the celebration of his fourth nuptials. But the patriarch Nicholas refused his blessing; and the contumacious husband of Zoe was excluded from the communion of the faithful. Neither the fear of exile,† nor the desertion of his brethren, nor the authority of the Latin Church, nor the danger of failure or doubt in the succession to the empire, could bend the spirit of the inflexible monk. After the death of Leo he was recalled from exile to the civil and ecclesiastical administration; and the edict of union which was promulgated in the name of Constantine condemned the future scandal of fourth marriages and left a tacit imputation on his own birth [A.D. 920].

* See ch. xxix. § 12.

† He was exiled in A.D. 907, and his place was filled by Euthymius, whose *Life* has already been referred to (note on § 18).

Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus [Porphyrogenetus] (A.D. 912–959): colleagues, (1) Alexander (A.D. 912–913).

§ 20. In the Greek language *purple* and *porphyry* are the same word. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry: it was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses; and the royal birth of their children was expressed by the appellation of *porphyrogenite*, or "born in the purple." Several of the Roman princes had been blessed with an heir; but this peculiar surname was first applied to Constantine VII. [A.D. 912–959]. He was only six years of age at his father's death; and the son of Leo was ever the voluntary or reluctant subject of those who oppressed his weakness or abused his confidence. His uncle Alexander, who had long been invested with the title of Augustus, was the first colleague and governor of the young prince; and after his death [A.D. 913] the succeeding years of the minority of Constantine were occupied by his mother Zoe, and a succession or council of seven regents, who pursued their interest, gratified their passions, abandoned the republic, supplanted each other, and finally vanished in the presence of a soldier. From an obscure origin Romanus Lecapenus had raised himself to the command of the naval armies; and in the anarchy of the times had deserved, or at least had obtained, the national esteem. With a victorious and affectionate fleet he sailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people and the guardian of the prince. His supreme office was at first defined by the new appellation of father of the emperor; but Romanus soon disdained the subordinate powers of a minister, and assumed, with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near five and twenty years. (A.D. 919–944). His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine VIII., were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes. Yet, in the preservation of his life and crown, he might still applaud his own fortune and the clemency of the usurper. Lecapenus does not appear to have possessed either the virtues or the vices of a tyrant; in his licentious pleasures he forgot the safety both of the republic and of his family.* The studious temper and retirement of Constantine disarmed the jealousy of power; and his books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement. The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his children. After the decease of Christopher, his eldest son, the two surviving brothers quarrelled with each other and conspired against their father. At the hour of noon, when all strangers were regularly excluded from the palace, they entered his apartment with an armed force, and

(2) Romanus I., Lecapenus (A.D. 919–944).

* Cf. Finlay, vol. ii. bk. ii. §§ 3, 4. Romanus was not so incompetent a ruler. His foreign policy was successful, and in internal administration he made a praiseworthy effort to check the growth of the great landed estates (*latifundia*), which were ruining the Eastern empire as they had ruined Italy in the last century of the republic (see Appendix).

conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. The rumour of this domestic revolution excited a tumult in the city; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true and lawful emperor, was the object of the public care; and the sons of Lecapenus were taught, by tardy experience, that they had achieved a guilty and perilous enterprise for the benefit of their rival. Their sister Helena, the wife of Porphyrogenitus, revealed, or supposed, their treacherous design of assassinating her husband at the royal banquet. His loyal adherents were alarmed, and the two usurpers were prevented, seized, degraded from the purple, and embarked for the same island and monastery where their father had been so lately confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach with a sarcastic smile, and, after a just reproach of their folly and ingratitude, presented his Imperial colleagues with an equal share of his water and vegetable diet. In the fortieth year of his reign Constantine VII. obtained the possession of the Eastern world, which he ruled, or seemed to rule, near fifteen years. But he was devoid of that energy of character which could emerge into a life of action and glory; and the studies which had amused and dignified his leisure were incompatible with the serious duties of a sovereign.* He neglected the practice, to instruct his son Romanus in the theory, of government; and, while he indulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he dropped the reins of the administration into the hands of Helena his wife.

Romanus II. (A.D. 959–963).

§ 21. The death of Constantine was imputed to poison; and his son Romanus II., who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne of Constantinople. A prince who, at the age of twenty, could be suspected of anticipating his inheritance, must have been already lost in the public esteem; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked; and the largest share of the guilt was transferred to his wife, Theophano, a woman of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious manners. The sense of personal glory and public happiness, the true pleasures of royalty, were unknown to the son of Constantine; and, while the two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours which the emperor owed to his people were consumed in the circus and the chase. After a reign of four years, Theophano mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father.

Basil II. (A.D. 963–1025): regents, (1) Nicephorus II., Phocas (A.D. 963–969).

After the death of her husband, the empress aspired to reign in the name of her two sons, Basil II. and Constantine IX., the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two, years of age; but she soon felt the instability of a throne which was supported by a female who could not be esteemed, and two infants who could not be feared. Theophano looked around for a protector,

* See ch. xxix. for his literary works.

and threw herself into the arms of the bravest soldier; but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable that interest was the motive and excuse of her love. Nicephorus Phocas united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of a hero and a saint. In the former character his qualifications were genuine and splendid. His religion was of a more ambiguous cast; and his hair-cloth, his fasts, his pious idiom, and his wish to retire from the business of the world, were a convenient mask for his dark and dangerous ambition.* Yet he imposed on a holy patriarch, by whose influence and by a decree of the senate he was entrusted, during the minority of the young princes, with the absolute and independent command of the Oriental armies. As soon as he had secured the leaders and the troops, he boldly marched to Constantinople, trampled on his enemies, avowed his correspondence with the empress, and, without degrading her sons, assumed, with the title of Augustus, the pre-eminence of rank and the plenitude of power. The popularity of the emperor was lost in the purple; in a reign of six years (A.D. 963–969) he provoked the hatred of strangers and subjects, and the hypocrisy and avarice of the first Nicephorus were revived in his successor. But the odious vice of avarice is of all others most hastily arraigned. In the use of his patrimony, the generous temper of Nicephorus had been proved; and the revenue was strictly applied to the service of the state: each spring the emperor marched in person against the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes in triumphs, conquests, and the security of the Eastern barrier.†

(2) John I., Zimisces (A.D. 969–976).

§ 22. Among the warriors who promoted his elevation and served under his standard, a noble and valiant Armenian had deserved and obtained the most eminent rewards. The stature of John Zimisces was below the ordinary standard;‡ but this diminutive body was endowed with strength, beauty, and the soul of an hero. By the jealousy of the emperor's brother he was degraded from the office of general of the East to that of director of the posts, and his murmurs were chastised with disgrace and exile. But Zimisces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress; on her intercession he was permitted to reside at Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of the capital; and Theophano consented with alacrity to the death of an ugly and penurious husband. Nicephorus was murdered in the palace; and as soon as his head was shown from the window, the tumult was hushed, and the Armenian was emperor of the East (A.D. 969). On the day of his coronation he was stopped on the threshold

* There was a good deal of sincerity in his desire to withdraw to the cloister. See M. Schlumberger's admirable monograph, *Un Empereur Byzantin au dixième siècle: Nicéphore Phocas* (1890), c. vi.

† See ch. xxviii. § 25.

‡ Tzimisces is an Armenian word, and was given to John on account of his short stature.

of St. Sophia by the intrepid patriarch, who charged his conscience with the deed of treason and blood, and required, as a sign of repentance, that he should separate himself from his more criminal associate. This sally of apostolic zeal was not offensive to the prince, since he could neither love nor trust a woman who had repeatedly violated the most sacred obligations; and Theophano, instead of sharing his Imperial fortune, was dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace. The public indignation was appeased by her exile and the punishment of the meaner accomplices; the death of an unpopular prince was forgiven; and the guilt of Zimisces was forgotten in

Gold coin of John I., Tzimisces (from the British Museum).—Obverse: + ΘEOTOC. BOHΘ. Iω. δεSP. (*θεοτόκε βοήθει Ἰωάννῃ δεσπότῃ*). Busts of the Virgin Mary and the emperor facing: the Virgin raises her hand to the emperor's head: above her is the inscription M. Θ. (*μήτηρ Θεοῦ*). The emperor holds a long cross, and above him is the hand of Providence. Reverse: + IHS. XPS. REX REGNANTIVM. Figure of the Saviour.

the splendour of his virtues. The greatest part of his reign was employed in the camp and the field; his personal valour and activity were signalized on the Danube and the Tigris, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Russians * and the Saracens † he deserved the titles of saviour of the empire and conqueror of the East. In his last return from Syria he observed that the most fruitful lands of his new provinces were possessed by the eunuchs.‡ "And is it for them," he exclaimed, with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for them that we shed our blood and exhaust the treasures of our people?" The complaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison.§

Basil II., sole emperor (A.D. 976–1025).

§ 23. Under the usurpation, or regency, of Nicephorus and John Zimisces, the two lawful emperors, Basil II. and Constantine IX., had silently grown to the age of manhood. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obscure and voluntary pupils of a minister named Basil, who extended

* In A.D. 972, ch. xxx. § 9.

† See ch. xxviii. § 25.

‡ Cf. note on § 20.

§ For the reign of Tzimisces and the early years of Basil II., see M. Schlumberger's luxurious work, *L'épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (1896).

his reign by persuading them to indulge the pleasures of youth and to disdain the labours of government. In this silken web the weakness of Constantine was for ever entangled; but his elder brother felt the impulse of genius and the desire of action;

The Emperor Basil II. in Imperial costume, with subjects prostrate in adoration (see p. 159). (From a Psalter of the eleventh century, in the Library of St. Mark at Venice.)

he frowned, and the minister was no more. After he had confirmed his own authority, the trophies of Nicephorus and Zimisces would not suffer their royal pupil to sleep in the palace. His long and frequent expeditions against the Saracens were rather glorious than useful to the empire; but the final destruction of

the kingdom of Bulgaria appears, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the Roman arms.* Yet, instead of applauding their victorious prince, his subjects detested the rapacious and rigid avarice of Basil ;† and, in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only discern the courage, patience, and ferociousness of a soldier. A vicious education, which could not subdue his spirit, had clouded his mind ; he was ignorant of every science ; and the remembrance of his learned and feeble grandsire might encourage his real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artists and arts. Of such a character, in such an age, superstition took a firm and lasting possession : after the first licence of his youth, Basil II. devoted his life, in the palace and the camp, to the penance of a hermit, wore the monastic habit under his robes and armour, observed a vow of continence, and imposed on his appetites a perpetual abstinence from wine and flesh. In the sixty-eighth year of his age his martial spirit urged him to embark in person for a holy war against the Saracens of Sicily ; he was prevented by death, and Basil, surnamed the Slayer of the Bulgarians (Bulgaroktonos), was dismissed from the world with the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people (A.D. 1025). After his decease, his brother Constantine enjoyed about three years the power or rather the pleasures of royalty ; and his only care was the settlement of the succession. He had enjoyed sixty-six years the title of Augustus ; and the reign of the two brothers is the longest and most obscure of the Byzantine history (A.D. 1028).

Constantine IX. [VIII.] (A.D. 1025–1028).

§ 24. A lineal succession of five emperors, in a period of 160 years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynasty, which had been thrice respected by the usurpers of their power. After the death of Constantine IX.,‡ the last male of the royal race, a new and broken scene presents itself, and the accumulated years of twelve emperors do not equal the space of his single reign. His elder brother left no children, and Constantine himself had only three daughters—Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora. Theodora preferred a life of celibacy, but Zoe, who was already forty-eight years of age, was married to Romanus III., Argyrus, who ascended the throne upon the decease of Constantine (A.D. 1028–1034). The empress formed a criminal attachment to a handsome Paphlagonian of the name of Michael : she soon justified the Roman maxim that every adulteress is capable of poisoning her husband ; and the death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael IV. The expectations of Zoe were, however, disappointed : the health and reason of Michael were impaired by epileptic fits, and his conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. While he groaned and

Romanus III., Argyrus (A.D. 1028–1034).

Michael IV., the Paphlagonian (A.D. 1034–1041).

* See ch. xxx.

† On his crusade against the landed aristocracy, see Appendix.

‡ Usually enumerated as Constantine VIII. (see p. 341).

prayed in sackcloth and ashes, his brother, the eunuch John, smiled at his remorse, and enjoyed the harvest of a crime of which himself was the secret and most guilty author. His administration was only the art of satiating his avarice,* and Zoe became a captive in the palace of her fathers and in the hands of her slaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who derived his surname of Calaphates from his father's occupation in the careening of vessels; at the command of the eunuch, Zoe adopted for her son the son of a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was invested with the title and purple of the Cæsars in the presence of the senate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoe that she was oppressed by the liberty and power which she recovered by the death of the Paphlagonian; and at the end of four days she placed the crown on the head of Michael V. (A.D. 1041–1042), who had protested with tears and oaths that he should ever reign the first and most obedient of her subjects. The only act of his short reign was his base ingratitude to his benefactors, the eunuch and the empress. The disgrace of the former was pleasing to the public; but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of Constantinople deplored the exile of Zoe, the daughter of so many emperors; her vices were forgotten, and Michael was taught that there is a period in which the patience of the tamest slaves rises into fury and revenge. The citizens of every degree assembled in a formidable tumult which lasted three days; they besieged the palace, forced the gates, recalled their *mothers*, Zoe from her prison, Theodora from her monastery, and condemned the son of Calaphates to the loss of his eyes or of his life. For the first time the Greeks beheld with surprise the two royal sisters seated on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and giving audience to the ambassadors of the nations. But this singular union subsisted no more than two months; the two sovereigns, their tempers, interests, and adherents, were secretly hostile to each other; and as Theodora was still averse to marriage, Zoe at the age of sixty married a third husband.† His name and number were Constantine X., surnamed *Monomachus*.‡ His health was broken by the tortures of the gout, and his dissolute reign was spent in the alternative of sickness and pleasure. He survived Zoe; but the last measures of Constantine to change the order

Michael V., Calaphates (A.D. 1041–1042, Dec.–April).

Zoe and Theodora (A.D. 1042, April–June).

Constantine X. [IX.], Monomachus (A.D. 1042–1054).

* This judgment is unfair.

† A connection with the dynasty, by marriage (or adoption), was considered necessary to legitimize the position of the upstart ruler. Hence the disgusting process by which the empress goes "from hand to hand, like a piece of the insignia of the Imperial power" (Neumann).

‡ A family surname. The recently published History of Psellus (A.D. 1018–1078) gives much additional information about the Court scandals during the time of Zoe and Theodora (Sathas, *History of Psellus* [Byzantine Texts, ed. Bury], 1899); other writings of Psellus are of great importance for the schism of the Churches, which occurred during the reign (see ch. xxxiv., with the Appendix).

of succession were prevented by the more vigilant friends of Theodora; and after his decease she resumed, with the general consent, the possession of her inheritance. In her name, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the Eastern world was peaceably governed about nineteen months (A.D. 1054–1056); and as they wished to prolong their dominion, they persuaded the aged princess to nominate for her successor Michael VI. The surname of *Stratioticus* declares his military profession; but the crazy and decrepit veteran could only see with the eyes, and execute with the hands, of his ministers. Whilst he ascended the throne, Theodora sunk into the grave—the last of the Macedonian or Basilian dynasty. I have hastily reviewed and gladly dismiss this shameful and destructive period of twenty-eight years, in which the Greeks, degraded below the common level of servitude, were transferred, like a herd of cattle, by the choice or caprice of two impotent females.

Michael VI., Stratioticus (A.D. 1056–1057).

[IV. The Comnenian Dynasty (A.D. 1057–1204).]

§ 25. From this night of slavery a ray of freedom, or at least of spirit, begins to emerge: the Greeks either preserved or revived the use of surnames, which perpetuate the fame of hereditary virtue: and we now discern the rise, succession, and alliances of the last dynasties of Constantinople and Trebizond. The *Comneni*, who upheld for a while the fate of the sinking empire, assumed the honour of a Roman origin; but the family had been long since transported from Italy to Asia. The first of their line was the illustrious Manuel, who, in the reign of the second Basil, contributed by war and treaty to appease the troubles of the East. He left in a tender age two sons, Isaac and John, whom, with the consciousness of desert, he bequeathed to the gratitude and favour of his sovereign. The noble youths were carefully trained in the learning of the monastery, the arts of the palace, and the exercises of the camp; and from the domestic service of the guards, they were rapidly promoted to the command of provinces and armies. The soldiers had served with reluctant loyalty a series of effeminate masters; the elevation of Michael VI. was a personal insult to the more deserving generals; and their discontent was inflamed by the parsimony of the emperor and the insolence of the eunuchs. They secretly assembled in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, decided to elevate Isaac Comnenus to the empire, and separated without delay to meet in the plains of Phrygia at the head of their respective squadrons and detachments. The cause of Michael was defended in a single battle by the mercenaries of the Imperial guard, after whose defeat Michael was degraded to the condition of a monk, and Isaac Comnenus was universally acknowledged as emperor and solemnly crowned by the patriarch.* But the failure of his

Isaac I., Comnenus (A.D. 1057–1059).

* The ambitious Michael Cerularius, on whom see Appendix to ch. xxxiv.

health induced him to resign the crown, after wearing it only two years (A.D. 1059).* His brother John either refused the purple or his claims were set aside by Isaac (for authorities differ),† and Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house, was declared emperor. In the monastic habit Isaac recovered his health, and survived two years his voluntary abdication.

Constantine XI. [X.], Ducas (A.D. 1059–1067).

§ 26. Constantine XI. was anxious to secure, at the expense of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. His three sons, Michael VII., Andronicus I., and Constantine XII., were invested in a tender age with the equal title of Augustus; and the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. His widow, Eudocia,‡ was entrusted with the administration; but before the end of seven months, she chose as her second husband Romanus IV., Diogenes, who filled the Imperial station with dignity and honour. Hereafter I shall relate his valiant but unsuccessful efforts to resist the progress of the Turks.§ His defeat and captivity inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine monarchy of the East; and after he was released from the chains of the sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects. His wife had been thrust into a monastery, and the subjects of Romanus had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law that a prisoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as by the stroke of death, of all the public and private rights of a citizen. In the general consternation the Cæsar John asserted the indefeasible right of his three nephews. Constantinople listened to his voice; and the Turkish captive was proclaimed in the capital, and received on the frontier, as an enemy of the republic. Romanus was not more fortunate in domestic than in foreign war: the loss of two battles compelled him to yield, on the assurance of fair and honourable treatment; but his enemies were devoid of faith or humanity; and after the cruel extinction of his sight, his wounds were left to bleed and corrupt, till in a few days he was relieved from a state of misery. Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas (A.D. 1071–1078), the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; but the eldest, the pusillanimous Michael, was incapable of sustaining the Roman sceptre; and his surname of *Parapinaces* denotes the reproach which he shared with an avaricious favourite who enhanced the price, and diminished the measure, of wheat. Strong in the contempt of their sovereign and their own esteem, two generals, at the head of the European and Asiatic legions, assumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. They bore the same name of Nicephorus, but the two candidates were distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates. The latter was successful: the feeble Michael resigned the

Romanus IV., Diogenes (A.D. 1067–1071).

Michael VII., Parapinaces (A.D. 1071–1078).

* For the reason of his resignation, cf. Appendix (*fin.*).
† The latter is the true account (cf. Finlay, vol. ii. p. 12).
‡ Cf. ch. xxix. § 12 for her alleged literary work.
§ A.D. 1068–1071; ch. xxxii. § 3.

ensigns of royalty, and was rewarded with the monastic habit and the title of Archbishop of Ephesus.

Nicephorus III., Botaniates (A.D. 1078–1081).

§ 27. John Comnenus, the brother of the emperor Isaac, left eight children, of whom Isaac and Alexius restored the Imperial greatness of their house. The mother of the Comneni, with her aspiring race, was accused of treason, and banished by the sons of Ducas to an island in the Propontis. The two brothers soon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's side against the rebels and barbarians, and adhered to the emperor Michael till he was deserted by the world and by himself. They were also entrusted by Nicephorus Botaniates with important commands; but they soon incurred the suspicion of the emperor; and, fearing for their lives, they sallied from the city, and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers who had been gradually assembled in the capital and the neighbourhood were devoted to the cause of a victorious and injured leader; and the generous dispute of the Comneni was terminated by the decisive resolution of Isaac, who was the first to invest his younger brother with the name and ensigns of royalty. They returned to Constantinople, to threaten rather than besiege that impregnable fortress; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted; Alexius ascended the throne, and his aged competitor disappeared in a monastery.

Alexius I., Comnenus (A.D. 1081–1118).

§ 28. The life of the emperor Alexius I. has been delineated by a favourite daughter, who was inspired by a tender regard for his person and a laudable zeal to perpetuate his virtues. Conscious of the just suspicion of her readers, the princess Anna Comnena repeatedly protests that truth, the naked perfect truth, was more dear and sacred than the memory of her parent. Yet, instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual strain of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy to question the veracity of the historian and the merit of the hero. We cannot, however, refuse her judicious and important remark that the disorders of the times were the misfortune and the glory of Alexius; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign by the justice of Heaven and the vices of his predecessors. In the East, the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hellespont, the reign of the Koran and the Crescent: the West was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans;* and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained in the science of war what they had lost in the ferociousness of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the land; and while the frontiers were assaulted by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason

* See ch. xxxi.

and conspiracy. On a sudden the banner of the Cross was displayed by the Latins; Europe was precipitated on Asia; and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest Alexius steered the Imperial vessel with dexterity and courage.* At the head of his armies he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The discipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful: his discerning eye pervaded the new system of an unknown world; and I shall hereafter describe the superior policy with which he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. In a long reign of thirty-seven years he subdued and pardoned the envy of his equals; the laws of public and private order were restored; the arts of wealth and science were cultivated; the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia; and the Comnenian sceptre was transmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation.

John II., Comnenus or Calo-Joannes (A.D. 1118-1143).

§ 29. It was the wish of the empress Irene to supplant the eldest of her surviving sons in favour of her daughter, the princess Anna, whose philosophy would not have refused the weight of a diadem. But the order of male succession was asserted by the friends of their country, and John II. was acknowledged as emperor (A.D. 1118). In the same person the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united; his swarthy complexion, harsh features, and diminutive stature had suggested the ironical surname of Calo-Joannes, or John the Handsome, which his grateful subjects more seriously applied to the beauties of his mind. Anna Comnena was stimulated by ambition and revenge to conspire against the life of her brother; but her life was spared, and the reproach or complaint of an injured brother was the only chastisement of the guilty princess. After this example of clemency, the remainder of his reign was never disturbed by conspiracy or rebellion: feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the painful necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his personal enemies. The only defect of this accomplished character was the frailty of noble minds—the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions of John the Handsome may be justified, at least in their principle, by the necessity of repelling the Turks from the Hellespont and the Bosporus. The sultan of Iconium was confined to his capital, the barbarians were driven to the mountains, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army; and in the sieges and battles of this holy war

* For the first crusade, see ch. xxxiii *init.*

his Latin allies were astonished by the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek. As he began to indulge the ambitious hope of restoring the ancient limits of the empire, the thread of his life and of the public felicity was broken by a singular accident. He hunted the wild boar in the valley of Anazarbus [in Cilicia], and had fixed his javelin in the body of the furious animal, but in the struggle a poisoned arrow dropped from his quiver, and a slight wound in his hand, which produced a mortification, was fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.

Gold coin of John II. (Calo-Joannes) (from the British Museum). — Obverse: Ιω ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ (Ἰωάννῃ δεσπότῃ). Half-figures of the Emperor and Virgin (Θν Μι = Θεοῦ μήτηρ) holding cross. Reverse: IC XC, the Saviour seated.

Manuel I., Comnenus (A.D. 1143–1180).

§ 30. John the Handsome was succeeded by Manuel I., the youngest of his two surviving sons. He emulated the spirit and shared the talents of his father, whose social virtues were buried in the grave. A reign of thirty-seven years is filled by a perpetual though various warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hordes of the wilderness beyond the Danube. The arms of Manuel were exercised on Mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coast of Italy and Egypt, and on the seas of Sicily and Greece; the influence of his negotiations extended from Jerusalem to Rome and Russia; and the Byzantine monarchy for a while became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe. Educated in the silk and purple of the East, Manuel possessed the iron temper of a soldier, which cannot easily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard I. of England and of Charles XII. of Sweden. Such was his strength and exercise in arms that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In one day he is said to have slain above forty of the barbarians with his own hand; he returned to the camp, dragging along four Turkish prisoners, whom he had tied to the rings of his saddle; he was ever the foremost to provoke or to accept a single combat; and the *gigantic* champions who encountered his arm were transpierced by the lance or cut asunder by the sword of the invincible Manuel. The story of his exploits, which appears as a model or a copy of the romances of chivalry, may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks; I will not, to vindicate their credit, endanger my

own ; yet I may observe that, in the long series of their annals, Manuel is the only prince who has been the subject of similar exaggeration. With the valour of a soldier he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general ; his victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest ; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia, and owed his deliverance to the generosity of the sultan. But the most singular feature in the character of Manuel is the contrast and vicissitude of labour and sloth, of hardiness and effeminacy. In war he seemed ignorant of peace, in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he slept in the sun or in the snow, tired in the longest marches the strength of his men and horses, and shared with a smile the abstinence or diet of the camp. No sooner did he return to Constantinople than he resigned himself to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury : the expense of his dress, his table, and his palace surpassed the measure of his predecessors, and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious isles of the Propontis. By his second wife, Maria of Antioch, he left a son, named Alexius, who, at the age of ten years, ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's decease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

Alexius II., Comnenus (A.D. 1180–1183).

§ 31. The throne of Alexius II. was soon subverted by Andronicus, younger son of Isaac, and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, one of the most conspicuous characters of the age, whose genuine adventures might form the subject of a very singular romance. During the long reign of Manuel he was exposed to the secret suspicion or open hostility of the emperor ; he passed more than twelve years in prison ; and was frequently obliged to fly for his life, at one time to the duke of Russia, and at other times to the Mahometan courts. The death of Manuel and the disorders of the minority at length opened the fairest field to his ambition. The emperor was a boy, without vigour, or wisdom, or experience ; his mother, the empress Mary, abandoned her person and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name ; and his sister, another Mary, whose husband, an Italian, was decorated with the title of Cæsar, excited a conspiracy, and at length an insurrection, against her odious stepmother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overthrown in the vice and weakness of a few months. The general voice called aloud for Andronicus, who entered Constantinople without opposition. In the first months of his administration his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy, and the coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity. But the numerous adherents of Andronicus were instructed to maintain that the sinking empire must perish in the hands of a child ; and the young emperor was himself constrained to solicit the association of a colleague, who instantly degraded him from the supreme rank. His mother Maria was put to death on the charge of a

treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary; and her son was shortly afterwards strangled with a bowstring.

Andronicus I., Comnenus (A.D. 1183–1185).

The government of Andronicus exhibited a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he listened to his passions, he was the scourge, when he consulted his reason, the father, of his people. His memory was stored with a black list of the enemies and rivals who had traduced his merit, opposed his greatness, or insulted his misfortunes; and the only comfort of his exile was the sacred hope and promise of revenge. The necessary extinction of the young emperor and his mother imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends who hated, and might punish, the assassin; and the repetition of murder rendered him less willing and less able to forgive. The noblest of the Greeks, more especially those who, by descent or alliance, might dispute the Comnenian inheritance, escaped from the monster's den; Nice or Prusa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge; and as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence by an open revolt and the Imperial title. Yet Andronicus resisted the daggers and swords of his most formidable enemies; Nice and Prusa were reduced and chastised; the Sicilians were content with the sack of Thessalonica; and the distance of Cyprus was not more propitious to the rebel than to the tyrant. His throne was subverted by a rival without merit, and a people without arms. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, was marked as a victim by the prudence or superstition of the emperor. The people espoused his cause, and Isaac, the second of the name, was raised from the sanctuary to the throne. The tyrant, deserted by every one, attempted to fly, but was overtaken, and abandoned by the new sovereign to the numerous sufferers whom he had deprived of a father, a husband, or a friend. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet between two pillars; and every hand that could reach the public enemy inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly or furious Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment (A.D. 1185).

Isaac II., Angelus.

With the death of Andronicus I shall here terminate the series of the Greek emperors since the time of Heraclius. The branches that sprang from the Comnenian trunk had insensibly withered, and the male line was continued only in the posterity of Andronicus himself, who, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history, and so famous in romance.* A private citizen of Philadelphia, Constantine Angelus, had emerged to wealth and honours by his marriage with the daughter of the emperor Alexius. His son Andronicus is conspicuous only by his cowardice. His grandson Isaac II. (A.D. 1185–1195) punished and succeeded the tyrant; but he

* Below, ch. xxxiv. § 16.

was dethroned by his own vices and the ambition of his brother; and their discord introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire (A.D. 1204).

[Relative chapters in Finlay (*Hist. of Greece*, vols. i.-iii.); Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, v. pt. ii., etc.; and Bury, *Later Rom. Emp.* (down to A.D. 802); Bury, *Roman Emperors from Basil II. to Isaac Komnenos* in *English Historical Review*, 1889, p. 41 ff., 251 ff.; H. Gelzer's fresh and suggestive outline in the second edition of Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (1897). Other works are mentioned in the notes and Appendix.]

APPENDIX.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CROWN AND THE LANDED INTEREST OF THE PROVINCES (TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES).

The history of the tenth and eleventh centuries cannot be comprehended without some knowledge of the economic condition of the empire, and more especially of Asia Minor, during this period. The subject has only recently been studied, and Gibbon had no knowledge of it; otherwise he would have given us a much more profound account of the political history of these centuries.

The revenues of the empire were always largely drawn from the taxation of landed property. Land was held in two ways. (1) There were groups of small farms owned by peasants, who lived together in villages. These communities were taxed as a whole; each peasant, of course, contributed his quota, but it was the village, not the individual, that was held responsible by the government. This is the normal state of things in Asia Minor at the present day. (2) Just as in modern Turkey we find, side by side with the small holdings, large farms (*tchiftliks*) and more extensive estates belonging to Turkish magnates, to religious bodies, and to the sultan, and worked for their benefit by rent-paying tenants, so in ancient times there existed, by the side of the peasant farms, large estates owned by rich lords (δυνατοί, *potentes*) and by the Church and the emperor, and cultivated on their behalf by *coloni*, who were either (a) tenants paying a rent, and free to give up their farms within thirty years (μισθωτοί, *liberi coloni*), or (β) poor labourers brought in by the landlords, and bound to the soil, receiving for their service board and lodging—practically serfs, though nominally freemen. These labourers were called ἐναπόγραφοι, *adscriptitii*.

An important reform was introduced by Leo III. (A.D. 717–741) whereby serfdom was abolished and the conditions of tenancy definitely regulated (as we learn from his Νόμος Γεωργικός, or *Agricultural Code*).* The reform was doubtless necessitated by the changed conditions brought about by the influx of Slavonic settlers in the seventh century (in the European provinces, see c. xxix. § 3, *note*) and by the migrations of dispossessed farmers, which affected the finances and reacted on the military organization. But it was unpopular with the landowners, and in the following (ninth) century the old system was restored by Basil I.

It was inevitable that these great estates should increase at the expense of the small freeholders, for land was the only safe investment for capital. It is the old story: the rich magnate loses no opportunity of inducing the

* For details, see Zachariæ von Lingenthal, *Gesch. d. griech.-röm. Rechts*, § 61.

small proprietor to sell or make over his land to him; in times of distress the impoverished farmer is compelled to seek relief from his rich neighbour, who will only grant it on condition of the farm being pledged to him as security. The evil becomes acute at the beginning of the tenth century; the class of peasant proprietors is disappearing, and the great estates increase at an alarming rate, with the result that wide stretches of country pass from cultivation into pasture-land, and the finances are ruined. The growing popularity of the monastic life accentuated the evil; for when people assumed the cowl, they gave their property to the monastery or made new ecclesiastical foundations. The Imperial government viewed this state of things with alarm. Apart from the economical aspect of the case, this powerful landed aristocracy was a standing danger to the State. With the power of capital and of social position they united political influence as high officials in the army, and they used their military power to further their ends. The military organization was closely bound up with the land question. After the model of the old system of *terræ limitaneæ vel castellorum*, military service was charged as a burden on small holdings (στρατιωτικὰ κτήματα, στρατιωτοτόπια) granted by the government to the provincials in inalienable possession and entered in military registers (κώδικες).* The maintenance of these holdings was an object of constant solicitude to the government; but in spite of its efforts, their number and size were being continually reduced by the illegal action of the landowners, who used their power as officers to acquire the land of the provincials in return for exemption from military service. From this class of landed nobles sprang the whole crop of pretenders who vexed the empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and ultimately gained the day.

It is only in the light of this struggle between the throne and the landed interest that the facts of political history narrated in c. xxv. can be properly understood. The battle against the magnates was seriously begun by Romanus I., who limited the freedom of alienation by the peasants and of acquisition by the landlords (A.D. 922),† and then, when the latter took advantage of the distress following the famines of A.D. 927–932 to get the small holdings into their power, he ordained that the peasants should be reinstated, and forbade the acquisition of such lands in the future under any pretext.‡ But it was easy for the rich to evade the laws, and difficult to bring them to justice. Constantine Porphyrogennetus and Romanus II. found it necessary to pass new laws;§ and still more stringent measures were being adopted when Nicephorus Phocas came to the throne. Nicephorus himself, like his successor Tzimisces, belonged to the ranks of the aristocracy, against whom the war was being carried on, and he made large concessions to them.‖ But at the same time he was concerned to uphold the efficiency of the army, and with this object he trebled the value of the military holdings,¶ thinking to procure the necessary land by prohibiting new monastic foundations, and forbidding all further acquisition of real property by ecclesiastical people,** so that henceforth land could only be made over to the laity. Had these measures been allowed time enough to work, the result would have been that the military aristocracy, assured of their position, would very quickly have trenched on the power of the throne.

But Basil II. prevented this consummation. As soon as he began his independent reign he was confronted by the revolt of the pretender Bardas Skleros, an Asiatic noble popular with the army and an able general.

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* Von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, § 64.

† *Novella* ii. in Von Lingenthal's *Jus Græco-Romanum, Pars III.*, p. 234 ff.

‡ *Nov.* v., *op. cit.*, p. 242 ff.

§ *Nov.* vi. (A.D. 947) and viii. (bet. 945–959); *nov.* xv. (bet. 959–963).

‖ *Novv.* xx., xxi. (A.D. 967). ¶ *Nov.* xxii. β (bet. 963–969).

** *Nov.* xix. (A.D. 964).

Skleros was ultimately crushed by another military aristocrat, Bardas Phocas; but the conqueror himself, after a few years, proceeded to imitate the example of the pretender he had vanquished. The crisis was a serious one, and Basil was compelled to conciliate the Church party by repealing Nicephorus' law against the acquisition of landed property by churches or monasteries.* But after the danger passed,† he began a tremendous crusade against the magnates, whom he had so good reason to fear, both by legislative measures‡ and by the despotic suppression of individuals who were dangerous to the State and oppressive to their poorer neighbours. In this policy he had the hearty support of the Civil Service, that gigantic and influential bureaucracy of salaried officials who passed under the name of "the Senate," § and claimed to settle the succession to the throne, or, at all events, to direct the Imperial policy. This party was necessarily favoured by the reigning emperor as a set-off against military pretenders. Their desire was to fill their pockets, and they were naturally hostile to military rulers, whose accession meant for them a "season of fasting." The influence of this party leads to fateful issues.

The reigns of Basil's successors are marked by a heavy increase of taxation, which fell heavily on the oppressed provincials, and led to frequent revolts and to the murder of tax-collectors. Court luxury, the greed of the bureaucracy, the military budget, were all growing, and new taxes were ever required to meet the expenditure. But a political object was also served by the increase of financial burdens: the pressure of taxation kept the landed aristocracy in subordination and restored the authority of the throne. During the reign of Constantine Monomachus (A.D. 1042–1054), the empire reached the zenith of its success. The conquest of Armenia provided a strong strategical position on the Eastern frontier; and no further extension of the boundaries of the empire was wanted. The attempt at usurpation on the part of George Maniakes ‖ (cf. ch. xxxi. § 4) and a dangerous revolt of the Macedonian troops made a strong impression on government circles, which were well aware that a warlike policy meant the growth of military arrogance. These circumstances, combined with the personal tendencies of the emperor, led to the adoption of an anti-military policy, which was far from being well-timed, though its consequences were not perhaps immediately felt. People hoped that an era of peace was now possible, all unaware of the storm that was gathering in the East (cf. ch. xxxii. § 2). While good work was accomplished in the direction of civil reform, the military organization was being undermined. For many years there had been a growing tendency on the part of the provincials to obtain exemption from military service by payment of a tax, and the government, knowing from oft-repeated experience the danger of a well-trained militia in the provinces, favoured the change. In the reign of Constantine the military tax became rule; and even the exemption from taxation, which was granted to inhabitants of the frontier provinces in return for the performance of military duty, was annulled by him (*ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν φόρους πολλοὺς ἐπορίζετο*, Cedrenus, ii. p. 608).

The result was fatal. The kernel of the army, the provincial contingents, gradually disappeared, and the mercenary element predominated more and

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* *Nov.* xxvi. (A.D. 988).

† On the history, cf. Finlay, ii. p. 364 ff.; and Schlumberger, *L'épopée Byzantine*, c. xi.

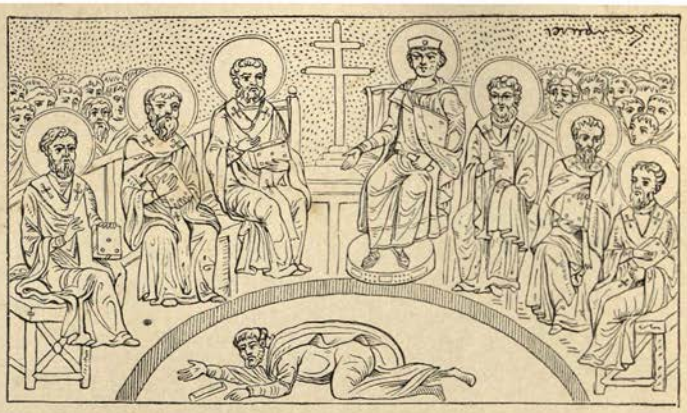
‡ *Nov.* xxix. (A.D. 996); and Lingenthal, p. 320, *note* 3.

§ The senate, of course, had long ceased to be in any sense a constitutional body. "Senator" was simply a title denoting a certain rank, and went along with certain offices. In common parlance, "senate" included all the higher officials.

‖ He was of Asiatic descent and a member of the landed nobility. *Maniak* is a word of Turkish origin, "noble" (Vámbéry).

more. The loyalty of an army of foreign mercenaries is always precarious: its action is determined by considerations of self-interest, and it is ready to support any adventurer who holds out the prospect of aggrandizement. It was a military revolt that brought Isaac Comnenus (A.D. 1057–1059) to the throne. But in twenty-seven months he resigned the crown. The cause of his abdication is to be sought in the resistance of the powerful bureaucracy, whose whole interests were hostile to military ascendency. During the reign of his successor, Constantine Ducas (A.D. 1059–1067), the anti-military party gets a free hand. Their policy could not be doubtful. If the magnates were ruined by taxation or by the confiscation of their property, and the army were starved, there would be an end of pretenders and of military ascendency, and meanwhile the bureaucracy would fill its pockets, while foreign complications could be arranged by treaties and gifts. And that was what actually happened; but the Nemesis was swift. The advance of the Turks brought a few people to their senses, and, before intrigue could be set on foot, Romanus Diogenes was called to the throne—a disgraced general, a member of the hated military aristocracy. But the ruin of the military organization could not be repaired in a day; and in spite of Romanus' heroic efforts, he fell a prisoner into Turkish hands on the fatal field of Manzikert (A.D. 1071: see ch. xxxii. § 3). The insane fanaticism of the bureaucratic party, even in this crisis, almost passes belief; only the brutal murder of Romanus could sate their vengeance. Even yet the disaster might have been retrieved, but there was no one to retrieve it. Asia Minor speedily fell into a state of anarchy, and passed under the sway of *condottieri*. One of these, Nicephorus Botaniates, assumed the purple, and was supported by the Turks (ch. xxxii. § 6), only to be deserted when the next usurper arose. Fortunately, out of the anarchy came a ruler of ability, Alexius Comnenus, a representative of that nobility against whom the struggle had raged so long. By the aid of foreign mercenaries, amongst whom the Normans were conspicuous, he dragged the remnants of Byzantine dominion out of the abyss, and founded a dynasty which "upheld for a while the fate of the sinking empire."

[Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts* (3rd ed., 1892), bk. iii. §§ 55–65; C. Neumann, *Die Weltstellung des byzantinischen Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen* (1894); cf. Bury, *English Historical Review*, iv. (1889), p. 41 ff., and 251 ff.; and Gfrörer, *Byzant. Geschichten*, iii. cc. i. and iii. The land laws are to be found in Von Lingenthal's collection of *Novellæ Constitutiones* in *Jus Græco-Romanum, Pars III.* (1856), *Collatio tertia*, p. 227 ff.]



Second Council of Nice, A.D. 787 (see p. 83), held in the presence of the emperor, Constantine VI., who is surrounded by the Patriarch and the bishops. The prostrate figure represents a condemned Iconoclast. (From a MS. in the Vatican.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ICONOCLASTS: REVOLT OF ITALY AND ROME: THE FRANKS: CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. Introduction of images into the Church: the image of Edessa: opposition to image-worship. § 2. Persecution of images and monks by Leo and Constantine V. (A.D. 726–775). § 3. Revolt of Italy (A.D. 728): republic of Rome. § 4. Lombard conquest of the Exarchate (A.D. 738–751). § 5. Rome delivered by Pepin (A.D. 754): conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne (A.D. 774). § 6. Mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family—Pepin and Charlemagne: donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. § 7. Restoration of images by Irene. § 8. Final separation of the popes from the Eastern empire: coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of Rome and the West (A.D. 800). § 9. Reign and character of Charlemagne (A.D. 768–814). § 10. Extent of his empire: his neighbours and enemies. § 11. Successors of Charlemagne. § 12. Otto I. restores the Western empire (A.D. 962). § 13. Authority of the emperors in the election of the popes (A.D. 800–1060): reformation of the Church by Gregory VII. (A.D. 1073). § 14. Authority of the emperors in Rome: revolt of Alberic (A.D. 932) and Crescentius (A.D. 998). § 15. The Italian republics: Frederic I. (A.D. 1152–1190): Frederic II. (A.D. 1212–1250). § 16. Independence of the princes of Germany (A.D. 814–1250): the Germanic constitution (A.D. 1250).

Introduction of images into the church.

§ 1. AMONG the objects of ecclesiastical history by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected, we may justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed

in the eighth and ninth centuries; since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use of images; and this aversion may be ascribed to their descent from the Jews and their enmity to the Greeks. The first notice of the use of pictures occurs three hundred years after the Christian æra. Under the successors of Constantine, in the peace of the triumphant Church, the more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a visible superstition for the benefit of the multitude; and after the ruin of Paganism, they were no longer restrained by the apprehension of an odious parallel. The first introduction of a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the Cross, and of relics of saints and martyrs, whose intercession was implored. But a memorial more interesting than such relics, is the faithful copy of the person and features of the departed worthy, delineated by the arts of painting or sculpture; and by a slow progression the honours of the original were transferred to the copy.

The image of Edessa.

The primitive Christians were ignorant of the genuine features of the Son of God, but a superstructure of fable was reared, after the lapse of centuries, on the basis of a Syrian legend which told how Abgarus, king of Edessa, had invoked the healing power of Christ and offered Him his strong city to protect him against the Jews. The faith of the royal stranger was gratified with a picture of the Saviour, which had long been imprisoned in a niche of the wall, but was released after an oblivion of five hundred years by some prudent bishop, and seasonably presented to the devotion of the times. The Greeks adored the similitude which was not the work of any mortal pencil, but the immediate creation of the divine original; before the end of the sixth century, images alleged to be miraculously produced from it* were propagated in the camps and cities of the Eastern empire as objects of worship and instruments of miracles; and the precedent was speedily transferred to the Virgin Mary and the saints and martyrs.

Opposition to image-worship.

The worship of images had stolen into the Church by insensible degrees, and each petty step was pleasing to the superstitious mind, as productive of comfort and innocent of sin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehension that, under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers; they heard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolaters—the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans, who derived from the Law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all relative worship. As the worship of images had never been established by any general

* Εἰκόνες ἀχειροποίητοι.

or positive law, its progress in the Eastern empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherished by the levity of the capital and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy; while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnostics and Arians maintained, after their conversion, the simple worship which had preceded their separation; and the Armenians, the most warlike subjects of Rome, were not reconciled, in the twelfth century, to the sight of images. These various denominations of men afforded a fund of prejudice and aversion, of small account in the villages of Anatolia or Thrace, but which, in the fortune of a soldier, a prelate, or an eunuch, might be often connected with the powers of the Church and State.

Persecution of images and monks by Leo and Constantine V. (A.D. 726–775).

§ 2. Of such adventurers the most fortunate was the emperor Leo III., who, from the mountains of Isauria, ascended the throne of the East. He was ignorant of sacred and profane letters; but his education, his reason, perhaps his intercourse with the Jews and Arabs,* had inspired the martial peasant with an hatred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience. By his edicts the existence as well as the use of religious pictures were proscribed; the churches of Constantinople and the provinces were cleansed from idolatry; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints were demolished, or a smooth surface of plaster was spread over the walls of the edifice. The sect of the Iconoclasts was supported by the zeal and despotism of six emperors, and the East and West were involved in a noisy conflict of 120 years. It was the design of Leo the Isaurian to pronounce the condemnation of images as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council; but the convocation of such an assembly was reserved for his son Constantine. It met (A.D. 754) in the suburbs of Constantinople, and was composed of the respectable number of 338 bishops of Europe and Anatolia; for the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were the slaves of the caliph, and the Roman pontiff had withdrawn the churches of Italy and the West from the communion of the Greeks. This Byzantine synod, which assumed the rank and powers of the seventh general council, pronounced and

* *Σαρακηνόφρων* is a common epithet of reproach applied to Iconoclasts. In A.D. 723 the Caliph Yezid II. had issued a decree against the use of images in Christian churches. Islamism and Judaism (there were large numbers of Jews in Asia Minor) exercised a great influence on the Christians in the Asiatic provinces. Hence these provinces tend to be Iconoclastic, while the European are Iconodule. Leo's chief adviser in the adoption of his Iconoclastic policy was the bishop of Nacoleia in Phrygia. It is very probable, as Mr. Bury has suggested (*History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii. pp. 397. 431), that Leo was influenced by Paulicianism (see ch. xxix., and cf. note § on ch. xxv. § 9).

subscribed an unanimous decree, that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the Eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity and a renewal of Paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased; and that those who should refuse to deliver the objects of their private superstition were guilty of disobedience to the authority of the Church and of the emperor. The execution of the edicts of Leo and of the decrees of the Council of Constantinople was resisted by frequent tumults in Constantinople and the provinces; the person of Leo was endangered, his officers were massacred, and the popular enthusiasm was quelled by the strongest efforts of the civil and military power. The son of Leo, in the first year of his reign (A.D. 741), had undertaken an expedition against the Saracens; during his absence the capital, the palace, and the purple were occupied by his kinsman Artavasdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith. Constantine flew for refuge to his paternal mountains; but he descended at the head of the bold and affectionate Isaurians;* and his final victory confounded the arms and predictions of the fanatics. His long reign was distracted with clamour, sedition, conspiracy, and mutual hatred, and sanguinary revenge. In every act of open and clandestine treason the emperor felt the unforgiving enmity of the monks, the faithful slaves of the superstition to which they owed their riches and influence. From the chastisement of individuals he proceeded to the abolition of the order; the public and private worship of images was rigorously proscribed; and it should seem that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the subjects, or at least from the clergy, of the Eastern empire.†

§ 3. The patient East abjured with reluctance her sacred images; they were fondly cherished, and vigorously defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians. The Greek patriarch was a slave under the eye of his master. A distant and dangerous situation, amidst the barbarians of the West, excited the spirit and freedom of the Latin bishops. Their popular election endeared them to the Romans; the public and private indigence was relieved by their ample revenue; and the weakness or neglect of the emperors compelled them to consult, both in peace and war, the temporal safety of the city. The priest insensibly imbibed the virtues and ambition of a prince and, after the loss of her legions and provinces, the genius and fortune of the popes again restored the supremacy of Rome. In the eighth century their dominion was founded on rebellion, and the rebellion was produced by the heresy of the Iconoclasts.‡ The

Revolt of Italy (A.D. 728).

* He fled to Amorion in the Anatolic Theme, and his army consisted of the troops of the Anatolic and Thrakesian Themes (Theophanes, *sub* A.M. 6233; on the Themes, ch. xxix. Appendix).

† See note on § 9 of the preceding chapter.

‡ The rebellion was due primarily to a heavy taxation which Leo sought to impose (see Appendix).

first assault of Leo against the images of Constantinople had been witnessed by a crowd of strangers from Italy and the West, who related with grief and indignation the sacrilege of the emperor. But on the reception of Leo's proscriptive edict [A.D. 728 or 727] they trembled for their domestic deities; and a strong alternative was proposed to the Roman pontiff, the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to hesitate, and the haughty strain in which Gregory II. addressed the emperor displays his confidence in the truth of his doctrine or the powers of resistance.* Without depending on prayers or miracles, he boldly armed against the public enemy,† and his pastoral letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty. The Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the pope and the holy images. The cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis burst into revolt. The most effectual measure of rebellion was the withholding the tribute of Italy, and depriving Leo of a power which he had recently abused by the imposition of a new capitation (*census*). A form of administration was preserved by the election of magistrates and governors; and so high was the public indignation that the Italians were prepared to create an orthodox emperor and to conduct him with a fleet and army to the palace of Constantinople.‡ In that palace the Roman bishops, the second and third Gregory, were condemned as the authors of the revolt, and every attempt was made, either by fraud or force, to seize their persons and to strike at their lives. The city was repeatedly visited or assaulted by captains of the guards, and dukes and exarchs of high dignity or secret trust; they landed with foreign troops, they obtained some domestic aid; but these clandestine or open attacks were repelled by the courage and vigilance of the Romans. Ravenna meanwhile was torn with faction; the votaries of images were superior in numbers or spirit; and the exarch [Paul] lost his life in a popular sedition [A.D. 727]. To punish this flagitious deed and restore his dominion in Italy, the emperor sent a fleet and army into the Adriatic; but, after suffering from the winds and the waves, the Greeks were defeated with enormous loss before Ravenna.§ Amidst the triumph of

* Two letters are extant (printed at the end of the Acts of the Second Nicene Council), which purport to be the original epistles of Gregory to Leo III.; but they are now generally considered to be forgeries.

† Rather with spiritual than carnal weapons, as Hodgkin says. See Appendix 1.

‡ There was therefore no idea of separation from the Eastern empire.

§ A.D. 732, after the meeting of the council convened by Gregory III. against Iconoclasm. It was the last serious effort to recover Imperial authority in Italy. Henceforward the energies of the Eastern empire are heavily taxed by the demands of the Saracenic wars. After the failure of the expedition of A.D. 732, Leo transferred the dioceses of South Italy, Sicily, and Illyricum to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and confiscated the *patrimonia* of the Church in these provinces.

the Catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts. With their consent, he pronounced a general excommunication against all who by word or deed should attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints; but no sooner had they confirmed their own safety, the worship of images, and the freedom of Rome and Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed of their severity and to have spared the relics of the Byzantine dominion. Their moderate counsels prevented the election of a new emperor, and they exhorted the Italians not to separate from the body of the Roman monarchy. The exarch was permitted to reside within the walls of Ravenna, a captive rather than a master; and till the Imperial coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine.

Republic of Rome.

The liberty of Rome, which had been oppressed by the arms and arts of Augustus, was rescued, after 750 years of servitude, from the persecution of Leo the Isaurian. When the sovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguished, the inhabitants of Rome, by the necessity of their situation, were cast into the rough model of a republican government; they were compelled to elect some judges in peace and some leaders in war; the style of the Roman senate and people was revived, but the spirit was fled; and their new independence was disgraced by the tumultuous conflict of licentiousness and oppression. The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop, whom the Romans considered as the first magistrate or prince of the city. The temporal dominion of the popes is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people whom they had redeemed from slavery.

Lombard conquest of the Exarchate [A.D. 738–751].

§ 4. The disorders of Italy, the nakedness of Rome, and the unwarlike profession of her new chief, were an irresistible temptation to the Lombards. On the first edicts of the emperor, they declared themselves the champions of the holy images; Liutprand invaded the province of Romagna, which had already assumed that distinctive appellation; the Catholics of the Exarchate yielded without reluctance to his civil and military power; and a foreign enemy was introduced for the first time into the impregnable fortress of Ravenna [probably about A.D. 738]. That city and fortress were speedily recovered by the active diligence and maritime forces of the Venetians; and those faithful subjects obeyed the exhortation of Gregory himself, in separating the personal guilt of Leo from the general cause of the Roman empire [A.D. 740].* The Greeks were less mindful of the service than the Lombards of the injury; the two

* Gregory III. urged them to aid the exarch (Eutychius) in recovering the city (see Appendix). On the conquest and recapture of Ravenna, Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. vi. p. 482 ff.; and Note F. p. 505 ff.

nations, hostile in their faith, were reconciled in a dangerous and unnatural alliance; the king and the exarch marched to the conquest of Spoleto and Rome; the storm evaporated without effect, but the policy of Liutprand alarmed Italy with a vexatious alternative of hostility and truce.* His successor Astolphus [Aistulf] declared himself the equal enemy of the emperor and the pope; Ravenna was subdued by treachery, and this final conquest extinguished the series of the exarchs, who had reigned with a subordinate power since the time of Justinian and the ruin of the Gothic kingdom [A.D. 751]. Rome was summoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful sovereign. The Romans hesitated; they entreated; they complained; and the threatening barbarians were checked by arms and negotiations, till the popes had engaged the friendship of an ally and avenger beyond the Alps.

Rome delivered by Pepin (A.D. 754).

§ 5. The successors of Clovis had degenerated from the valour and abilities of their great ancestor; and Dagobert, the son of Clotaire II. (A.D. 628–638), was the last of the Merovingian princes who really deserved the name of king. The power of the kingdom devolved upon the mayors of the palace, who made the office hereditary. Pepin [Pippin] of Hersthal, mayor and duke of Austrasia, had been succeeded by his son Charles Martel (A.D. 715–741), who, by his signal victory over the Saracens at Poitiers,† had saved his country, and perhaps Europe, from the Mahometan yoke. In his distress the third Gregory had implored the aid of this hero. The ambassadors of the pope were received by Charles with decent reverence; but the greatness of his occupations and the shortness of his life prevented his interference in the affairs of Italy, except by a friendly and ineffectual mediation. His son Pepin, the heir of his power and virtues, assumed the office of champion of the Roman Church. At the entreaties of Stephen, the Roman pontiff, who undertook a laborious journey to the court of France, Pepin crossed the Alps at the head of a French army (A.D. 754). The Lombards, after a weak resistance, obtained an ignominious peace, and swore to restore the possessions, and to respect the sanctity, of the Roman Church. But no sooner was Astolphus delivered from the presence of the French arms, than he forgot his promise and resented his disgrace. Pepin again crossed the Alps, and his second expedition was not less rapid and fortunate than the first: Rome was again saved, and Astolphus was taught the lessons of justice and sincerity by the scourge of a foreign master [A.D. 756]. After this double chastisement, the Lombards languished about twenty years in a state of languor

* This combined attack probably took place in A.D. 730. In A.D. 739 the Duke of Spoleto rebelled against his suzerain Liutprand, and was protected by Gregory (whose policy apparently was to play off the dukes against the king). Liutprand seized four towns of the Roman duchy, and Gregory then made the appeal to Charles Martel mentioned in the following section.

† See ch. xxviii. § 12.

and decay. But their minds were not yet humbled to their condition; and instead of affecting the pacific virtues of the feeble, they peevishly harassed the Romans with a repetition of claims, evasions, and inroads, which they undertook without reflection and terminated without glory. On either side their expiring monarchy was pressed by the zeal and prudence of Pope Hadrian I., by the genius, the fortune, and greatness of Charlemagne the son of Pepin. The passes of the Alps and the walls of Pavia were the only defence of the Lombards; the former were surprised, the latter were invested, by Charlemagne; and after a blockade of fifteen months, Desiderius, the last of their native princes, surrendered his sceptre and his capital (A.D. 774). Under the dominion of a foreign king, but in the possession of their national laws, the Lombards became the brethren, rather than the subjects, of the Franks, who derived their blood, and manners, and language from the same Germanic origin.

Conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne (A.D. 774).

§ 6. The mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family form the important link of ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical, history. The popes conferred upon the Carlovingian race the dignities of King of France and Patrician of Rome. I. Under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate. The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government. All the powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace; and nothing, except the regal title, was wanting to his ambition. The name and image of royalty was still preserved in the last descendant of Clovis, the feeble Childeric. The mayor and the nobles were bound, by an oath of fidelity, to the royal phantom; and their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff to dispel their scruples or to absolve their promise. The interest of Pope Zachary, the successor of the two Gregories, prompted him to decide, and to decide in their favour: he pronounced that the nation might lawfully unite, in the same person, the title and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childeric, a victim of the public safety, should be degraded, shaved, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. The Merovingian race disappeared from the earth; and Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the suffrage of a free people, accustomed to obey his laws and to march under his standard. His coronation was twice performed, by St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and by Stephen III., who in the monastery of St. Denis placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor and dexterously applied the royal unction of the kings of Israel. II. After the recovery of Italy and Africa by the arms of Justinian, the importance and danger of those remote provinces required the presence of a supreme magistrate; he was indifferently styled the exarch or the patrician;* and these governors of Ravenna extended their

Mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family—Pepin and Charlemagne.

* *Exarch* was the name of the office. *Patricius* was a title of rank merely.

jurisdiction over the Roman city. After the loss of the Exarchate, the Roman senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with the honours of Patrician of Rome.* In the time of Charles Martel and of Pepin, the interposition of the Lombard kingdom covered the freedom, while it threatened the safety, of Rome; and the *patriciate* represented only the title, the service, the alliance, of these distant protectors. The power and policy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy and imposed a master. In the twenty-six years that elapsed between the conquest of Lombardy and his Imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject, as his own, to the sceptre of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family; in his name money was coined and justice was administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. Except an original and self-inherent claim of sovereignty, there was not any prerogative remaining which the title of emperor could add to the Patrician of Rome.

Donations of Pepin and Charlemagne.

The gratitude of the Carlovingians was adequate to these obligations, and their names are consecrated as the saviours and benefactors of the Roman Church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into the temporal dominion of cities and provinces; and the donation of the Exarchate was the firstfruits of the conquests of Pepin.† The ample measure of the Exarchate might comprise all the provinces of Italy which had obeyed the emperor and his vicegerent; but its strict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara: its inseparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Apennines. The Greek emperor had abdicated or forfeited his right to the Exarchate; and the sword of Astolphus was broken by the stronger sword of the Carlovingian. It was not in the cause of the Iconoclast that Pepin had exposed his person and army in a double expedition beyond the Alps; he possessed, and might lawfully alienate, his conquests; and to the importunities of the Greeks he piously replied that no human consideration should tempt him to resume the gift which he had conferred on the Roman pontiff for the remission of his sins and the salvation of his soul. The splendid

* The title was *Patricius Romanorum* (*i.e.* the Romans in Italy). Pippin was the first recipient of it. This patriciate was not a mere title, but carried with it both rights and duties (though not very definitely defined); cf. Sickel, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1897, p. 847 f.; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 37 f., etc.

† The "donation of Pippin" (drawn up A.D. 754) was *formally* a restoration (to the Eastern empire) of the lands taken from Aistulf; it did not engage to make over to the Church the whole Exarchate and Pentapolis, but a specified number of cities. *In reality* the sovereignty of the East-Roman empire was purely nominal (see Appendix). The donation was renewed in an enlarged form by Charles.

donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion,* and the world beheld for the first time a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince—the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom the inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto sought a refuge from the storm, declared themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter, and completed by this voluntary surrender the present circle of the ecclesiastical state.†

§ 7. While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored in the Eastern empire. Leo IV. maintained with less rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philosophy, of their ancestors. After the death of her husband, when she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts; a general council was assembled at Nice (A.D. 787), and it was unanimously decreed that the worship of images is agreeable to Scripture and reason, to the fathers and councils of the Church. During the five succeeding reigns, a period of thirty-eight years, the contest was maintained with unabated rage and various success between the worshippers and the breakers of the images; and the final victory of the images was achieved by a second female, Theodora, the widow of Theophilus, whom he left the guardian of the empire (A.D. 842). In the West Pope Hadrian I. accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene assembly, which is now revered by the Catholics as the seventh in rank of the general (Ecumenical) councils.

Restoration of images by Irene.

§ 8. It was after the Nicene synod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that the popes consummated the separation of Rome and Italy, by the translation of the empire to Charlemagne. They were compelled to choose between the rival nations; religion was not the sole motive of their choice; the difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the

Final separation of the popes from the Eastern empire: coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of Rome and the West (A.D. 800).

* Such was the contention of the papacy in later times; but compare preceding note and the Appendix. Even after the coronation of Charles, the question as to the precise relations of pope and emperor was probably not distinctly asked by either side; hence the trouble that arose afterwards (cf. Bryce, c. v. p. 53 ff., etc.).

† The celebrated "donation of Constantine," by which this emperor was said to have resigned to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West at the time of the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, is now admitted to have been a forgery. The document was composed under Stephen's successor, Paul I., soon after A.D. 754. "Itself a portentous falsehood, it is the most unimpeachable evidence of the thoughts and beliefs of the priesthood which framed it" (Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 95; cf. p. 40, etc.). Sickel, however (*op. cit.*, pp. 844, 845), thinks that its original purpose may have been that of a pious legend designed to glorify the pope.

hostile opposition of seventy years. In that schism the Romans had tasted of freedom, and the popes of sovereignty: their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny, of the Byzantine court. The Greek emperors had restored the images, but they had not restored the Calabrian estates and the Illyrian diocese,* which the Iconoclasts had torn away from the successors of St. Peter. Would prudence or gratitude allow the pontiffs to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate his gift of the Exarchate? Had they power to abolish his government of Rome? The title of patrician was below the merit and greatness of Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving the Western empire that they could pay their obligations or secure their establishment. By this decisive measure they would finally eradicate the claims of the Greeks; from the debasement of a provincial town, the majesty of Rome would be restored; the Latin Christians would be united, under a supreme head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the West would receive their crown from the successors of St. Peter. In the last year of the eighth century Charlemagne paid his fourth and last visit to Rome. On the festival of Christmas he appeared in the church of St. Peter; and, to gratify the vanity of Rome, he had exchanged the simple dress of his country for the habit of a patrician. After the celebration of the holy mysteries, the Roman pontiff, Leo III. (A.D. 795-816), suddenly placed a precious crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!"† The head and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by the royal unction; after the example of the Cæsars, he was saluted or adored by the pontiff; his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and privileges of the Church; and the firstfruits were paid in his rich offerings to the shrine of the apostle (A.D. 800).

Reign and character of Charlemagne (A.D. 768-814).

§ 9. The appellation of *great* has been often bestowed, and sometimes deserved, but CHARLEMAGNE is the only prince in whose favour the title has been indissolubly blended with the name. That name, with the addition of *saint*, is inserted in the Roman calendar; and the saint, by a rare felicity, is crowned with the praises of the historians and philosophers of an

* Pope Hadrian demanded their restoration.

† "Karolo piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria." On the motives of all concerned in this "central event of the Middle Ages, one of those few events but for which the history of the world would have been different," see Bryce, *op. cit.*, c. iv. p. 41 ff., and c. v. Charles was regarded as the successor of the deposed Constantine VI., but Constantine had successors at Constantinople; and hence the Roman empire now splits up into a Western and an Eastern ("Byzantine") empire, rivals and foes, but forced to recognize each other.

enlightened age.* His *real* merit is doubtless enhanced by the barbarism of the nation and the times from which he emerged; but the *apparent* magnitude of an object is likewise enlarged by an unequal comparison; and the ruins of Palmyra derive a casual splendour from the nakedness of the surrounding desert. Without injustice to his fame, I may discern some blemishes in the sanctity and greatness of the restorer of the Western empire. Of his moral virtues, chastity and mercy are not the most conspicuous; and the sons of his brother Carloman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitain, and the 4500 Saxons who were beheaded on the same spot, would have something to allege against the justice and humanity of Charlemagne. The sedentary reader is amazed by his incessant activity of mind and body; and his subjects and enemies were not less astonished at his sudden presence at the moment when they believed him at the most distant extremity of the empire; neither peace nor war, nor summer nor winter, were a season of repose; and our fancy cannot easily reconcile the annals of his reign with the geography of his expeditions. His military renown must be tried by the scrutiny of his troops, his enemies, and his actions. Alexander conquered with the arms of Philip, but the *two* heroes who preceded Charlemagne bequeathed him their name, their examples, and the companions of their victories. At the head of his veteran and superior armies he oppressed the savage or degenerate nations, who were incapable of confederating for their common safety; nor did he ever encounter an equal antagonist in numbers, in discipline, or in arms. His campaigns are not illustrated by any siege or battle of singular difficulty and success; and he might behold with envy the Saracen trophies of his grandfather. The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man; he imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms among his sons; and, after his numerous diets, the whole constitution was left to fluctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism. His esteem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him to entrust that aspiring order with temporal dominion and civil jurisdiction; and his son Lewis, when he was stripped and degraded by the bishops, might accuse, in some measure, the imprudence of his father. His literary merits are attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, and the works which were published in his name; and the encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on the character of Charlemagne. His own studies were tardy, laborious, and imperfect; if he spoke Latin, and understood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from conversation, rather than from books; and, in his mature age, the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy. The dignity of his person, the length of his

* Gibbon refers to Voltaire, *Hist. Générale;* Robertson, *History of Charles V.*; Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix.*

reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new æra from his restoration of the Western empire.

Seal of Charlemagne (from the British Museum): + XPE PROTEGE CAROLVM REGMFRA'COR (*Christe, protege Carolum regem Francorum*).

Extent of his empire.

§ 10. That empire was not unworthy of its title, and some of the fairest kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince who reigned at the same time in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary. I. The Roman province of Gaul had been transformed into the name and monarchy of FRANCE: but, in the decay of the Merovingian line, its limits were contracted by the independence of the *Britons* and the revolt of *Aquitain*. Charlemagne pursued and confined the Britons on the shores of the ocean. The rebellion of the dukes of Aquitain was punished by the forfeiture of their province, their liberty, and their lives; and their ancient kingdom was reduced to the duchy of Gascogne, at the foot of the Pyrenees. By the reunion of Aquitain, France was enlarged to its present boundaries, with the additions of the Netherlands and Spain, as far as the Rhine. II. The Saracens had been expelled from France by the grandfather and father of Charlemagne; but they still possessed the greatest part of SPAIN, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. Amidst their civil divisions, an Arabian emir of Saragossa implored his protection. Charlemagne undertook the expedition, restored the emir, and, without distinction of faith, impartially crushed the resistance of the Christians, and rewarded the obedience and service of the Mahometans. In his absence he instituted the *Spanish march*, which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro; Barcelona was the residence of the French governor; he possessed the counties of *Rousillon* and *Catalonia*, and the infant kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were subject to his jurisdiction. III. As king of the Lombards and patrician of Rome, he reigned over the greatest part of ITALY, a tract of a thousand miles from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. The duchy of

Beneventum, a Lombard fief, had spread, at the expense of the Greeks, over the modern kingdom of Naples.* But Arichis the reigning duke, was only nominally subject to Charlemagne; and Beneventum insensibly escaped from the French yoke. IV. Charlemagne was the first who united GERMANY under the same sceptre. The name of *Oriental France* is preserved in the circle of *Franconia;* and the people of *Hesse* and *Thuringia* were recently incorporated with the victors by the conformity of religion and government. The *Alemanni*, so formidable to the Romans, were the faithful vassals and confederates of the Franks, and their country was inscribed within the modern limits of *Alsace*, *Swabia*, and *Switzerland*. The *Bavarians*, with a similar indulgence of their laws and manners, were less patient of a master: the repeated treasons of Tasillo justified the abolition of their hereditary dukes; and their power was shared among the counts who judged and guarded that important frontier. But the north of Germany, from the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, was still hostile and Pagan; nor was it till after a war of thirty-three years that the Saxons bowed under the yoke of Christ and of Charlemagne. Beyond the Elbe, the *Slavi*, or Slavonians, of similar manners and various denominations, overspread the modern dominions of Prussia, Poland, and Bohemia. The conquest or conversion of those countries is of a more recent age, but the first union of *Bohemia* with the Germanic body may be justly ascribed to the arms of Charlemagne. V. He retaliated on the Avars of Pannonia the same calamities which they had inflicted on the nations. After a bloody conflict of six years, the relics of the nation submitted: the royal residence of the Chagan was left desolate and unknown; and the treasures, the rapine of 250 years, enriched the victorious troops, or decorated the churches, of Italy and Gaul. After the reduction of Pannonia, the empire of Charlemagne was bounded only by the conflux of the Danube with the Theiss and the Save; the provinces of Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia were an easy though unprofitable accession; and it was an effect of his moderation that he left the maritime cities under the real or nominal sovereignty of the Greeks.

His neighbours and enemies.

If we retrace the outlines of this geographical picture, it will be seen that the empire of the Franks extended, between east and west, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula; between the north and south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The personal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnified by the distress and division of the rest of Europe. The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were disputed by a crowd of princes of Saxon or Scottish origin; and, after the loss

* The duchy of Beneventum (which became a *Principatus* about A.D. 774, when the duke assumed the title of Prince) did not extend further north than the river Liris (Liri) and Aternus (Pescara), and did not include the "heel" and "toe."

of Spain, the Christian and Gothic kingdom of Alphonso the Chaste was confined to the narrow range of the Asturian mountains. These petty sovereigns revered the power or virtue of the Carlovingian monarch, implored the honour and support of his alliance, and styled him their common parent, the sole and supreme emperor of the West.* He maintained a more equal intercourse with the caliph Harun al Rashid, whose dominion stretched from Africa to India, and accepted from his ambassadors a tent, a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. Two-thirds of the Western empire of Rome were subject to Charlemagne, and the deficiency was amply supplied by his command of the inaccessible or invincible nations of Germany.

Successors of Charlemagne.

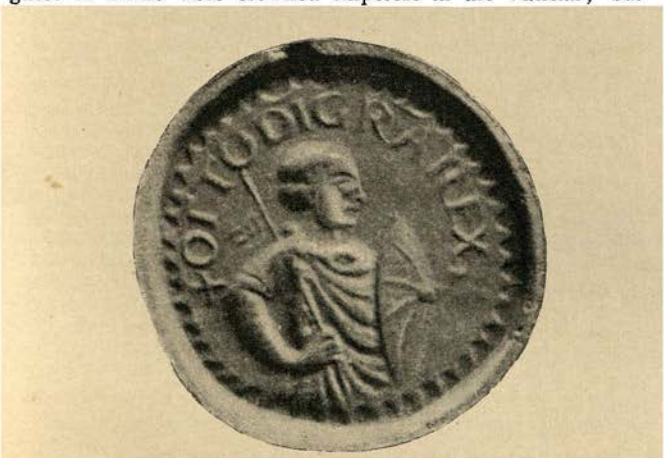
§ 11. Had the pope and the Romans revived the primitive constitution, the titles of emperor and Augustus were conferred on Charlemagne for the term of his life; and his successors, on each vacancy, must have ascended the throne by a formal or tacit election. But the association of his son Lewis the Pious† (A.D. 814–840) asserts the independent right of monarchy and conquest, and the emperor seems on this occasion to have foreseen and prevented the latent claims of the clergy. The royal youth was commanded to take the crown from the altar, and with his own hands to place it on his head, as a gift which he held from God, his father, and the nation. The same ceremony was repeated, though with less energy, in the subsequent associations of Lothaire and Lewis the Second; the Carlovingian sceptre was transmitted from father to son in a lineal descent of four generations; and the ambition of the popes was reduced to the empty honour of crowning and anointing these hereditary princes, who were already invested with their power and dominions. The pious Lewis survived his brothers, and embraced the whole empire of Charlemagne; but the nations and the nobles, his bishops and his children, quickly discerned that this mighty mass was no longer inspired by the same soul; and the foundations were undermined to the centre, while the external surface was yet fair and entire. After a war, or battle, which consumed 100,000 Franks, the empire was divided by treaty between the three sons of Lewis, who had violated every filial and fraternal duty. The kingdoms of Germany and France were for ever separated; the provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, were assigned, with Italy, to the Imperial dignity of Lothaire I. (A.D. 840–855).‡ In the partition of his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger children; and Lewis II., his eldest son (A.D. 856–875), was

* Cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i., Appendix D.

† Hludowicus Pius. Pius means rather "debonair."

‡ Charles the Bald obtained Neustria, part of Burgundy and Aquitaine; Lewis the German received all the kingdom east of the Rhine and north of the Alps.

content with the realm of Italy, the proper and sufficient patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death, without any male issue, the vacant throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins, and the popes most dexterously seized the occasion of judging the claims and merits of the candidates, and of bestowing on the most obsequious, or most liberal, the Imperial office of advocate of the Roman Church. The dregs of the Carlovingian race no longer exhibited any symptoms of virtue or power, and the ridiculous epithets of the *bald*, the *stammerer*, the *fat*, and the *simple*, distinguished the tame and uniform features of a crowd of kings alike deserving of oblivion. By the failure of the collateral branches the whole inheritance devolved to Charles the Fat, the last emperor of his family; his insanity authorized the desertion of Germany, Italy, and France; he was deposed in a diet (A.D. 888), and solicited his daily bread from the rebels by whose contempt his life and liberty had been spared. According to the measure of their force, the governors, the bishops, and the lords usurped the fragments of the falling empire; and some preference was shown to the female or illegitimate blood of Charlemagne. Those who could appear with an army at the gates of Rome were crowned emperors in the Vatican; but



Seal of Otto I. (from a plaster cast in the British Museum). + OTTO D(*e*)I GRA(*tia*) REX: half-figure of the Emperor, holding lance and circular convex shield with boss in centre.

their modesty was more frequently satisfied with the appellation of kings of Italy; and the whole term of seventy-four years may be deemed a vacancy, from the abdication of Charles the Fat to the establishment of Otho [Otto] I. (A.D. 962).*

* In the latter years, however, Henry the Fowler had driven back the

Otho I. restores the Western empire (A.D. 962).

§ 12. Otho was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony. His father, Henry the Fowler, was elected, by the suffrage of the nation, to save and institute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits were enlarged on every side by his son, the first and greatest of the Othos. A portion of Gaul, to the west of the Rhine, along the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, was assigned to the Germans, by whose blood and language it has been tinged since the time of Cæsar and Tacitus. Between the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Alps, the successors of Otho acquired a vain supremacy over the broken kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles. In the North, Christianity was propagated by the sword of Otho, the conqueror and apostle of the Slavic nations of the Elbe and Oder; the marches of Brandenburg and Schleswig were fortified with German colonies; and the king of Denmark, the dukes of Poland and Bohemia, confessed themselves his tributary vassals. At the head of a victorious army he passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the Imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany (A.D. 962). From that memorable æra two maxims of public jurisprudence were introduced by force and ratified by time. I. *That* the prince who was elected in the German Diet acquired from that instant the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. II. But that he might not legally assume the titles of emperor and Augustus till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff.*

Authority of the emperors in the election of the popes (A.D. 800–1060).

§ 13. The German emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exercise the powers which had been assumed by the Gothic and Grecian princes. In the Christian aristocracy the principal members of the clergy still formed a senate to assist the administration, and to supply the vacancy, of the bishop. Rome was divided into twenty-eight parishes, and each parish was governed by a cardinal-priest, or presbyter—a title which, however common and modest in its origin, has aspired to emulate the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the association of the seven deacons of the most considerable hospitals, the seven palatine judges of the Lateran, and some dignitaries of the Church. This ecclesiastical senate was directed by the seven cardinal-bishops of the Roman province, who were less occupied in the suburb dioceses of Ostia, Porto, Velitræ, Tusculum, Præneste, Tibur, and the Sabines, than by their

Wends and Magyars (see p. 177). Otto I. was crowned Roman emperor in A.D. 962, but he succeeded to the German kingdom in A.D. 936.

* On the whole question of the significance of the coronation of Otto I. as marking a new period in the establishment of the Holy empire, see Bryce, *op. cit.*, cc. vii. and viii. The Eastern empire reluctantly conceded to Charlemagne the title of emperor (βασιλεύς) of the Romans, while his son Lewis was only allowed the title *Rex* with the addition of *vocatus imperator Francorum*. In Otto's case, *non imperatorem, id est* βασιλέα *sua lingua, sed ob indignationem* Ῥῆγα, *id est regem nostra, vocabat Nicephorus* (Liutprand, *Legat. Const.*, c. ii.). On the relations between the Eastern and Western empires, Gasquet, *L'empire Byzantin et la monarchie Franque.*

weekly service in the Lateran, and their superior share in the honours and authority of the apostolic see. On the death of the pope these bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of the college of cardinals, and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applause or clamour of the Roman people. But the election was imperfect; nor could the pontiff be legally consecrated till the emperor, the advocate of the Church, had graciously signified his approbation and consent. In the frequent schisms the rival claims were submitted to the sentence of the emperor; and in a synod of bishops he presumed to judge, to condemn, and to punish the crimes of a guilty pontiff. Otho I. imposed a treaty on the senate and people, who engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to his majesty; his successors anticipated or prevented their choice; they bestowed the Roman benefice, like the bishoprics of Cologne or Bamberg, on their chancellors or preceptors; and whatever might be the merit of a Frank or Saxon, his name sufficiently attests the interposition of foreign power. These acts of prerogative were most speciously excused by the vices of a popular election. The competitor who had been excluded by the cardinals appealed to the passions or avarice of the multitude; the Vatican and the Lateran were stained with blood; and the most powerful senators, the marquises of Tuscany and the counts of Tusculum, held the apostolic see in a long and disgraceful servitude. The Roman pontiffs of the ninth and tenth centuries were insulted, imprisoned, and murdered by their tyrants; and such was their indigence, after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, that they could neither support the state of a prince, nor exercise the charity of a priest. After a long series of scandal the apostolic see was reformed and exalted by the austerity and zeal of Gregory VII. (A.D. 1073). That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election, and for ever to abolish the right or usurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief or benefice (*beneficium*) of the Church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of fifty years the first of these designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order, whose liberty was connected with that of their chief.* But the second attempt, though it was crowned

Reformation and claims of the Church (A.D. 1073).

* The right of electing the pope had already been fixed in the College of Cardinals by Nicholas II. at the synod of 1059; but the emperor's right to confirm their choice was still reserved. The struggle between empire and papacy was renewed by Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) on the question of lay investitures to the clergy. The "fifty years' contest" ended with the Concordat of Worms (A.D. 1122), a compromise which distinguished the secular and spiritual aspects of investiture, and arranged that, while the emperor should give up the right of conferring spiritual jurisdiction, he should retain the right to bestow the fiefs and immunities attaching to the

with some partial and apparent success, has been vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of human reason.

Authority of the emperors in Rome: revolt of Alberic (A.D. 932) and Crescentius (A.D. 998).

§ 14. During the disorders of Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries, the supremacy of the emperors at Rome was crushed and annihilated. Content with the titles of emperor and Augustus, the successors of Charlemagne neglected to assert their jurisdiction in the city. In the hour of prosperity their ambition was diverted by more alluring objects; and in the decay and division of the empire they were oppressed by the defence of their hereditary provinces. Amidst the ruins of Italy, Alberic, a son of Marozia, a prostitute, whose influence was founded upon her beauty and wealth, possessed above twenty years the government of Rome, with the title of prince (from A.D. 932);* and he is said to have gratified the popular prejudice by restoring the office, or at least the title, of consuls and tribunes. His son and heir assumed, with the pontificate, the name of John XII.; like his predecessors, he was provoked by the Lombard princes to seek a deliverer for the Church and republic; and the services of Otho were rewarded with the Imperial dignity. But before he repassed the Alps, the pope rebelled; and the emperor returned to chastise his ingratitude. A synod was convoked, John was degraded, and Leo VIII. was raised to the chair of St. Peter. In the minority of Otho III., Rome made a bold attempt to shake off the Saxon yoke, and the consul Crescentius was the Brutus of the republic (A.D. 998). From the condition of a subject and an exile he twice rose to the command of the city, oppressed, expelled, and created the popes, and formed a conspiracy for restoring the authority of the Greek emperors. In the fortress of St. Angelo he maintained an obstinate siege, till the unfortunate consul was betrayed by a promise of safety; his body was suspended on a gibbet, and his head was exposed on the battlements of the castle. By a reverse of fortune, Otho, after separating his troops, was besieged three days without food in his palace, and a disgraceful escape saved him from the justice or fury of the Romans. It was the design of Otho III. to abandon the ruder countries of the North, to erect his throne in Italy, and to revive the institutions of the Roman monarchy.† But his successors only once in their lives appeared on the banks of the Tiber to receive their crown in the Vatican. Their absence was contemptible, their presence odious and formidable. They descended from the Alps at the head of their barbarians, who were strangers and

prelate's office. After the time of Gregory VII. the emperor never made good the old right of naming or confirming the pope.

* He is generally called *princeps Romanorum*, but also consul, patrician, and senator.

† He did not live to carry out his plan, but he built a palace on the Aventine, and "devised a regular administrative system of government for his capital . . . with a body of judges who were to recognize no law but Justinian's" (Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 141).

enemies to the country; and their transient visit was a scene of tumult and bloodshed. A faint remembrance of their ancestors still tormented the Romans; and they beheld with pious indignation the succession of Saxons, Franks, Swabians, and Bohemians, who usurped the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars.*

The Italian republics.

§ 15. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Lombards rekindled the flame of industry and freedom, and the generous example was at length imitated by the republics of Tuscany. In the Italian cities a municipal government had never been totally abolished; and their first privileges were granted by the favour and policy of the emperors, who were desirous of erecting a plebeian barrier against the independence of the nobles. But their rapid progress, the daily extension of their power and pretensions, were founded on the numbers and spirit of these rising communities. The legislative authority was inherent in the general assembly; but the executive powers were intrusted to three consuls, annually chosen from the three orders of *captains*, *valvassors*, and commons, into which the republic was divided.† Under the protection of equal law the labours of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived; but the martial spirit of the Lombards was nourished by the presence of danger; and as often as the bell was rung or the standard erected, the gates of the city poured forth a numerous and intrepid band, whose zeal in their own cause was soon guided by the use and discipline of arms. At the foot of these popular ramparts the pride of the Cæsars was overthrown; and the invincible genius of liberty prevailed over the two Frederics, the greatest princes of the middle age: the first, superior perhaps in military prowess; the second, who undoubtedly excelled in the softer accomplishments of peace and learning. Ambitious of restoring the splendour of the purple, Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa, invaded the republics of Lombardy with the arts of a statesman, the valour of a soldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant.‡ The recent discovery of the Pandects had renewed a science most favourable to despotism; and his venal advocates§ proclaimed the emperor the absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects. The obstinate cities were reduced by the terror or the force of

Frederic I. (A.D. 1152–1190).

* Republican feeling continued to survive in Rome in the interval between the fall of Crescentius and the appearance of Arnold of Brescia in the middle of the twelfth century (see ch. xxxix.).

† On the constitution of the Italian towns, C. Hegel, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien* (1847), and L. von Heinemann, *Zur Entstehung der Stadtverfassung in Italien* (1896).

‡ The Lombard cities had been virtually independent since the reign of Henry IV. (A.D. 1056–1106); for the emperors did not assert any real authority in Italy. Hence Frederick's attempt to reassert Imperial control was regarded as an intolerable aggression, and the pope, as the emperor's enemy, naturally became their champion and gave them the war-cry of "The Church." From this time date the beginnings of the Guelf party.

§ The Jurists of Bologna.

his arms ; and after the siege and surrender of Milan the buildings of that stately capital were razed to the ground. But Milan soon rose from her ashes ; and the League of Lombardy was cemented by distress : their cause was espoused by Venice, pope Alexander III., and the Greek emperor ; the fabric of oppression was overturned in a day ; and in the treaty of Constance, Frederic subscribed, with some reservations, the freedom of four-and-twenty cities. His grandson contended with their vigour and maturity ; but Frederic II. was endowed with some personal and peculiar advantages. His birth and education recommended him to the Italians ; and, in the implacable discord of the two factions, the Ghibelins were attached to the emperor, while the Guelfs displayed the banner of liberty and the Church.* The court of Rome had slumbered when his father Henry VI. was permitted to unite with the empire the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily ; and from these hereditary realms the son derived an ample and ready supply of troops and treasure. Yet Frederic II. was finally oppressed by the

Frederic II. (A.D. 1212–1250).

Gold "Augustalis" of Frederic II. (from the British Museum). — Obverse : + FRIDERICVS. Eagle. Reverse : CESAR AVG. IMP. ROM. (*Cæsar Augustus Imperator Romanorum*).

arms of the Lombards and the thunders of the Vatican ; his kingdom was given to a stranger, and the last of his family was beheaded at Naples on a public scaffold. During sixty years no emperor appeared in Italy, and the name was remembered only by the ignominious sale of the last relics of sovereignty.

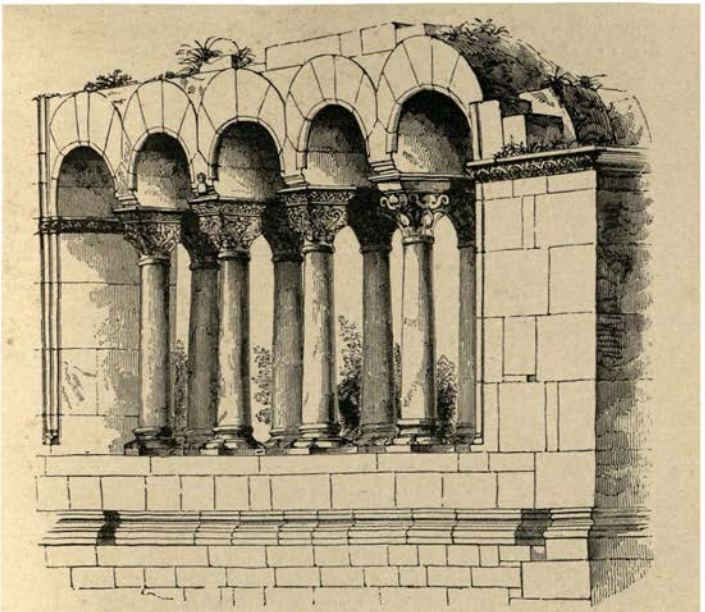
Independence of the princes of Germany (A.D. 814–1250).

§ 16. The barbarian conquerors of the West were pleased to decorate their chief with the title of emperor ;† but it was not

* These two factions derived their names from the two rival German families, the Welfs of Bavaria, who supported the papacy, and the house of Waiblingen (or Hohenstaufen), which had been the enemy of the Church. The Guelfs represented the principles of freedom and self-government (and the Church as against the emperor) ; the Ghibellines fought for the universal empire which should restore unity to Italy. Dante reflects the sentiments of the best of the Ghibellines. In the fourteenth century, after Imperial power in Italy came to an end (A.D. 1314), the issue between the parties becomes that of municipal liberty against tyranny ; in the fifteenth, the party-names are a mere pretext for attack by one noble family on another (see ch. xxxix.).

† Carolingian emperors after Charlemagne usually styled themselves *Imp. Augustus*, sometimes adding *rex Francorum et Langobardorum ;* the Saxon emperors (Otto I., etc.), before coronation at Rome, *rex*, *rex Francorum*, etc., and after coronation, *Imp. Aug.* From the eleventh to the

their design to invest him with the despotism of Constantine and Justinian. The persons of the Germans were free, their conquests were their own, and their national character was animated by a spirit which survived the servile jurisprudence of the new or the ancient Rome. It would have been a vain and dangerous attempt to impose a monarch on the armed freemen, who were impatient of a magistrate; on the bold, who refused



Arcade of the Palace of Frederic Barbarossa at Gelnhausen, illustrating the round Gothic style of German architecture (eleventh-twelfth centuries).

to obey; on the powerful, who aspired to command. The empire of Charlemagne and Otho was distributed among the dukes of the nations or provinces, the counts of the smaller districts, and the margraves of the marches or frontiers, who all united the civil and military authority as it had been delegated to the lieutenants of the first Cæsars.* The Roman governors, who for the most part were soldiers of fortune, seduced their

sixteenth century, the emperor before coronation is *Romanorum rex semper Aug.*, after it, *Romanorum Imp. semper Aug.* Other titles were occasionally used.

* For an account of feudalism and its relation to the Imperial power in the tenth century, Bryce, *op. cit.*, c. viii.

mercenary legions, assumed the Imperial purple, and either failed or succeeded in their revolt, without wounding the power and unity of government. If the dukes, margraves, and counts of Germany were less audacious in their claims, the consequences of their success were more lasting and pernicious to the state. Instead of aiming at the supreme rank, they silently laboured to establish and appropriate their provincial independence. Their ambition was seconded by the weight of their estates and vassals, their mutual example and support, the common interest of the subordinate nobility, the change of princes and families, the minorities of Otho the Third and Henry the Fourth, the ambition of the popes, and the vain pursuit of the fugitive crowns of Italy and Rome. All the attributes of regal and territorial jurisdiction were gradually usurped by the commanders of the provinces; the right of peace and war, of life and death, of coinage and taxation, of foreign alliance and domestic economy. Whatever had been seized by violence was ratified by favour or distress, was granted as the price of a doubtful vote or a voluntary service; whatever had been granted to one could not without injury be denied to his successor or equal; and every act of local or temporary possession was insensibly moulded into the constitution of the Germanic kingdom. In every province the visible presence of the duke or count was interposed between the throne and the nobles; the subjects of the law became the vassals of a private chief; and the standard which *he* received from his sovereign was often raised against him in the field.

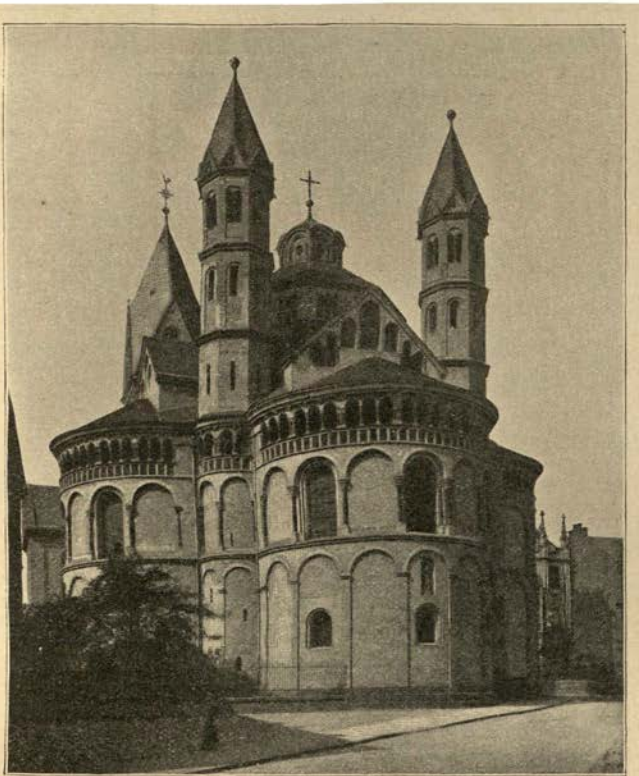
The Germanic constitution (A.D. 1250).

After the death of Frederic II., Germany was left a monster with a hundred heads. A crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the empire; the lords of innumerable castles were less prone to obey than to imitate their superiors; and, according to the measure of their strength, their incessant hostilities received the names of conquest or robbery. Such anarchy was the inevitable consequence of the laws and manners of Europe; and the kingdoms of France and Italy were shivered into fragments by the violence of the same tempest. But the Italian cities and the French vassals were divided and destroyed, while the union of the Germans produced, under the name of an empire, a great system of a federative republic.* In the frequent and at last the perpetual institution of Diets, a national spirit was kept alive, and the powers of a common legislature are still † exercised by the three branches or colleges of the electors, the princes, and the free and Imperial cities of Germany. I. Seven of the most powerful feudatories were permitted to assume, with a distinguished name and rank, the exclusive privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; and these electors were the

* For the changes in the Germanic constitution after A.D. 1250, cf. Bryce, *op. cit.*, c. xiv. On the Seven Electors, *ibid.*, p. 219 ff. The Electoral College existed in one form or another till A.D. 1803, three years before the Empire itself came to an end.

† Gibbon was writing in the ninth decade of the eighteenth century.

king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbishops of Mentz, of Trèves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates purged themselves of a promiscuous multitude: they reduced to four representative votes the long series of independent counts, and excluded the nobles or equestrian order, 60,000 of whom, as in the Polish diets, had appeared on



The Church of the Apostles at Cologne, A.D. 1035 (a type of the German round Gothic style, soon supplanted by the pointed French style).

horseback in the field of election. III. The pride of birth and dominion, of the sword and the mitre, wisely adopted the commons as the third branch of the legislature, and, in the progress of society, they were introduced about the same æra

into the national assemblies of France, England and Germany. The Hanseatic League commanded the trade and navigation of the north ; * the confederates of the Rhine secured the peace and intercourse of the inland country ; the influence of the cities was adequate to their wealth and policy, and their negative invalidated the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes.

[For the Iconoclastic controversy, Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. bk. i.; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. bk. vi.; Schwarzlose, *Der Bilderstreit* (1890). On the Papacy and the Western Roman empire, Milman's *History of Latin Christianity;* Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (references are made to the Eighth Library ed.); Gregorovius, *History of Rome in the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans.), vol. ii., etc. ; Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy* (1898) ; L. Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'État Pontifical*, A.D. 754-1073 (1898). Out of the enormous literature dealing with the eighth century may be selected, Döllinger, *Die Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters* (1863) [translated by A. Plummer, *Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages* (1871)]; Dahmen, *Das Pontifikat Gregors II.* (1888); Schnürer, *Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates* (1894); Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. vi. cc. 11, 12, and following volumes; Sickel in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1897), p. 838 ff. ; Lindner, *Die sogennanten Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des grossen, u. Ottos I. an die Päpste* (1896).

For further information about German history the reader may be referred to such works as Giesebrecht's *Gesch. d. deutschen Kaiserzeit* (A.D. 920-1180), Henderson's *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, Lavisse et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, or to handbooks like Oman's *Dark Ages*, Tout's *Empire and Papacy*, etc.]

APPENDIX.

I.

THE GROWTH OF THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE PAPACY.

It is now very generally recognized † that Gibbon's view of the attitude of Gregory II. towards the Eastern empire cannot be maintained. The account given in § 3 is derived from Greek sources,‡ but the contemporary testimony of the pope's biographer is more trustworthy.§ It is clear

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* *Hanse*, a Gothic word denoting an association at once religious and warlike, was the name given to the leagues which began to be formed as early as the tenth century by German merchants, for mutual defence against pirates and the promotion of commerce. The most important of these *Hanses* was the great league which, starting from Lübeck (in the thirteenth century), came to embrace not only the maritime towns around, but also the cities of Westphalia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Thuringia, and soon rose to be the first power in North Europe. Lübeck always retained its predominant position: in it were kept the treasury and the archives, and it became the ordinary meeting-place of the triennial Diets of the league.

† First pointed out by Von Döllinger.

‡ Theophanes, *Chronographia* (best edition is that of De Boor).

§ In the *Liber Pontificalis* (edited with commentary by L. Duchesne).

that Gregory did not incite the Italians to revolt. The disaffection was due primarily to an attempt on the part of Leo III. to impose a new tax on Italy (not exempting the Church, which was the largest proprietor), probably in order to help to meet the expenses of the Saracenic war. The pope's agents (*rectores*) were instructed to resist the exaction, and their example inspired a spirit of defiance in the rest of the Italians. Some unsuccessful attempts on the life of the pope, followed by a military expedition to enforce him to comply with the edict, increased the exasperation of the people; and the subsequent arrival of the decrees against image-worship set the flame of revolution ablaze. But while Gregory opposed with all his power both the taxation and the Iconoclastic decrees, he did all he could to discourage open rebellion. He "restrained the Italians," in the words of his biographer, "from their design to elect an emperor and lead him to Constantinople," and afterwards exhorted them "not to cease from their love and loyalty towards the Roman empire," knowing well that revolt would only result in the domination of the Lombards. Gregory, therefore, did not entertain any thought of secession from the empire. The same policy was followed by his successors. Gregory III. appealed to Charles Martel in A.D. 739, only because help could not be looked for either from the exarch, hardly able to protect himself, or from Constantinople, alienated by the religious controversy and fully occupied in repelling the Saracenic invader. But when Ravenna was captured (about A.D. 739), he urged the duke of Venice to help the exarch in his stead (*nostra vice*) to recover it, *ut ad pristinum statum sanctæ rei publicæ et imperiali servitio . . . revocetur.* So Zacharias saved Perusia from the Lombards (A.D. 749) and prevailed on Liutprand in A.D. 743 to "restore to the empire" his conquests in the Exarchate and Pentapolis. Even the events of A.D. 754 were not at the time meant to lead to a final separation. Pope Stephen first applied to Constantine V., but then he realized that no help was to be expected from the Imperial power (*Vita Steph.*, c. xv.), and turned to the Franks. Pippin's settlement was nominally a "restoration" to the empire: the lands were made over to the pope as the representative of Imperial interests in Italy. But though the titular sovereignty of Constantinople was still recognized for many years,* the pope's position was really independent of Constantinople, and assured by the Franks. The coronation of Charles was the logical result of the events of A.D. 754.

There is another point in connection with the growth of the papal power which demands a few words. A confusion is often made between papal sovereignty and papal ownership of landed estates ("the Patrimony of St. Peter"). It is frequently said that the temporal sovereignty of the Church arose from the possession of the patrimonies, that the "patrimonies formed the actual foundation of the political ecclesiastical state" (Gregorovius, ii. p. 61). Such a view confuses proprietorship and sovereignty: the ownership of large estates in a province might be used as the basis of a claim for sovereign rights, but it could not create them. The possession of the patrimonies was, of course, an important factor in the situation, for the greatest landowner in Italy must wield enormous influence and power; but it was not the basis, legal or actual, of the political dominion of the popes. The cause of its growth is to be sought

* Documents were dated by the years of the emperors till A.D. 781. We must not forget that (as Mr. Bryce has well pointed out) the reluctance to break with the empire had a deep-lying cause. To the mediæval mind the World-church could not exist apart from the World-state: the two were related as soul and body, each being the complement of the other. The World-state being necessarily identified with the Roman empire, the only universal empire that men knew of, it followed that without the Roman empire there could be no Catholic Church. The empire of Charles was the first that was capable of taking the place of the East-Roman empire.

rather in the political situation and the nature of the pope's office. The ever-pressing Lombard danger and the ever-increasing weakness of the empire in Italy made the pope the representative of Byzantine Italy, the champion of the Latin nation: * but for him, the Imperial possessions would have passed to the Lombard long before A.D. 751; and the source of his power was the immense prestige attaching to him as head of the Western Church, the religious reverence due to the successor of St. Peter. It is the *reverentia beati Petri* that awes the Lombard king again and again into a renunciation of his conquests, and brings the Frankish deliverer across the Alps. The political dominion in Rome and the duchy of Rome, which the popes had acquired early in the eighth century, was won in the name of the Apostle. A good instance is furnished by the recovery of Sutrium, a town in the duchy (belonging to Constantinople), in A.D. 728. Though the duchy was nominally under a *dux* appointed by the emperor, it was Gregory II. who persuaded Liutprand to "restore and present it to the Apostles Peter and Paul." It is "restored" to the duchy, *i.e.* to the pope: the king recognizes the duchy as a holy territory under the spiritual protection of the apostles, belonging to them at the same time as to the empire. So Gregory III. won back Gallesium, and by similar appeals to the *reverentia principis apostolorum*, Zacharias recovered the four towns of the duchy which Liutprand had "taken from St. Peter," and obtained a twenty years' peace for the duchy (A.D. 742). Thus before A.D. 753 the supremacy of the pope in the duchy was a *fait accompli*; and Pippin's contract recognized it and rescued it from the foe. Outside the limits of the duchy the case was different. But here, too, by helping in the recovery of Ravenna, by making Liutprand restore to the empire his conquests in the Exarchate and Pentapolis, by saving Perusia, the popes had constituted themselves the representatives of Imperial interests; and it was only from this point of view that the new territory bestowed by Pippin on "St. Peter, the Roman Church, and the pope," could be called a *restitutio*. It was at the same time a *donatio*, because the Church had not ruled there before. (See especially Sickel, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1897, p. 840 ff.) How well the pope understood the nature of his new position is shown by his language in A.D. 755, "Pro donationis paginam beati Petri sanctæque Dei ecclesiæ *rei publicæ* civitates et loca restituenda confirmastis" (Codex Carolinus, p. 489, 33, ed. Gundlach in *Mon. Germ. Histor.*).

II.

LIST OF POPES DURING THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Constantine,	A.D. 708–715	Paul I.	A.D. 757–767 (June)
Gregory II.	,, 715–731	Stephen III.	,, (Aug.) 768–772
Gregory III.	,, 731–741	Hadrian I.	,, 772–795
Zacharias	,, 741–752	Leo III.	,, 795–816
Stephen II.	,, 752–757		

* Cf. Kehr, *Göttingische Nachrichten*, 1896, pp. 109, 128.

EUROPE
at the time of the
RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE
in the West
BY OTTO THE GREAT
A.D. 962
English Miles
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
POMERANIA
LETTS
RUSSIA
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
BURGUNDY
HUNGARY
KINGDOM OF ITALY
CROATIA
SERVIA
BULGARIAN KINGDOM
PONTICUM MARE
CASPIAN SEA
DOMS OF THE KHAZARS
KINGDOM OF LEON
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
EAST ROMAN EMPIRE
ARMENIA
DOMS OF THE FATIMITES
DOMS OF THE HAMDANIDS
DOMS OF THE BUWAIHIDS
Crete

The Mosque El Aksa at Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. Climate and geography of Arabia: Medina and Mecca: national independence of the Arabs. § 2. Birth and education of Mahomet: deliverance of Mecca. § 3. Qualifications of the prophet. § 4. Islam: one God, and Mahomet the apostle of God. § 5. The Koran. § 6. Miracles: the nocturnal journey of Mahomet to heaven. § 7. The four duties of Islam: rewards and punishments. § 8. Mahomet preaches at Mecca (A.D. 609-610). § 9. He is opposed by the Koreish and driven from Mecca (A.D. 613-622). § 10. Received as prince of Medina (A.D. 622): his regal dignity: he declares war against the infidels. § 11. His defensive wars against the Koreish of Mecca (A.D. 623-627). § 12. He subdues the Jews of Arabia (A.D. 625-628). § 13. Submission of Mecca (A.D. 630): conquest of Arabia (A.D. 629-632). § 14. First war of the Mahometans against the Roman empire (A.D. 629). § 15. Death of Mahomet (A.D. 632, June): his character. § 16. His private life: his wives and children. § 17. Character of Ali. § 18. Reigns of Abu-beker, Omar, and Othman (A.D. 632-656). § 19. Discord of the Turks and Persians. § 20. Reign of Ali (A.D. 656-661). § 21. Elevation of the Ommiades (Omayyads): reign of Moawiyah (A.D. 661-680): posterity of Mahomet and Ali.

§ 1. AFTER pursuing above 600 years the fleeting Cæsars of Constantinople and Germany, I now descend, in the reign of Heraclius, on the eastern borders of the Greek monarchy. While the state was exhausted by the Persian war, and the

Church was distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite sects, Mahomet, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet and the spirit of his religion involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe.

Climate and geography of Arabia.

The greater part of the peninsula of Arabia has been justly stigmatized with the epithets of the *stony* and the *sandy*. In this dreary waste, a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains; and the face of the desert, without shade or shelter, is scorched by the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun. But the high lands that border on the Indian Ocean are distinguished by their superior plenty of wood and water; the fertility of the soil invites and rewards the toil of the husbandman; and the peculiar gifts of frankincense and coffee have attracted, in different ages, the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the rest of the peninsula, this sequestered region may truly deserve the appellation of the *happy*;* and the splendid colouring of fancy and fiction has been suggested by contrast and countenanced by distance. The maritime districts of *Bahrein* † and *Oman* are opposite to the realm of Persia. The kingdom of *Yemen* displays the limits, or at least the situation of Arabia Felix; the name of *Neged* [*Nejd*] is extended over the inland space; and the birth of Mahomet has illustrated the province of *Hejaz* † along the coast of the Red Sea.

Medina and Mecca.

Among the cities of Arabia the most ancient and populous were situate in the *happy* Yemen; but their profane lustre was eclipsed by the prophetic glories of MEDINA ("the city") and MECCA, near the Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of 270 miles. The fame and spirit of the Koreishites, who reigned ‡ in Mecca, were conspicuous among the Arabian tribes; but their ungrateful soil refused the labours of agriculture, and their position was favourable to the enterprises of trade. By the seaport of Gedda they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mahomet. The treasures of Africa were conveyed over the peninsula to Gerrha or Katif, in the province of Bahrein; and from thence, with the native pearls

* These divisions, unknown to the Arabs themselves, are the Arabia Petræa, Deserta, and Felix of classical times.

† In regard to the transcription of Arabic names, it should be noted that the three short Arabic vowels range between the sounds of (1) *a* and *e*, (2) *e* and *i*, (3) *o* and *u*. Modern scholars generally use for these sounds *a*, *i*, and *u* (or *o*), while Gibbon's spelling uses generally *e* for the first two and *o* for the third. Thus the modern spelling is Bahrain, Hijāz, Koraish, Hāshim, etc. (Precisely the same variation of sound is noticeable in modern Turkish.)

‡ The tribe of the Koraish with its numerous families formed the Meccan community (see § 8, *note*).

of the Persian Gulf, they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance between Yemen on the right, and Syria on the left, hand. The former was the winter, the latter the summer, station of her caravans; and their seasonable arrival relieved the ships of India from the tedious and troublesome navigation of the Red Sea. In the markets and harbours of Yemen and Oman, the camels of the Koreishites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; the lucrative exchange diffused plenty and riches in the streets of Mecca; and the noblest of her sons united the love of arms with the profession of merchandise.

National independence of the Arabs.

The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the theme of praise among strangers and natives. There are some exceptions that can neither be dissembled nor eluded; yet these are temporary or local: the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies. The arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trojan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia. The legions of Augustus melted away in disease and lassitude; and it is only by a naval power that the reduction of Yemen has been successfully attempted. When Mahomet erected his holy standard, that kingdom was a province of the Persian empire; yet seven princes of the Homerites still reigned in the mountains; and the vicegerent of Chosroes was tempted to forget his distant country and his unfortunate master.* The historians of the age of Justinian represent the state of the independent Arabs, who were divided by interest or affection in the long quarrel of the East: the tribe of Gassan was allowed to encamp on the Syrian territory; the princes of Hira were permitted to form a city about forty miles to the southward of the ruins of Babylon. Their friendship was venal, their enmity capricious; and in the familiar intercourse of war they learned to see and to despise the splendid weakness both of Rome and of Persia. From Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes were confounded by the Greeks and Latins under the general appellation of SARACENS,† a name which every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

Birth and education of Mahomet: deliverance of Mecca.

§ 2. Mahomet sprung from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba.‡ The

* Persian influence extended into Yemen, but hardly affected the country round Mecca and Medina at all.

† Derived from Sharkī, "Eastern."

‡ The Kaaba was the sanctuary of the tribes in and round Mecca. "The antiquity of the temple," says Gibbon, "ascends beyond the Christian æra. It is mentioned incidentally by Diodorus, who speaks (iii. 43) of a famous temple, between the Thamudites and the Sabæans, whose superior sanctity was revered by *all* the Arabians. [It is not at all probable that the Kaaba

grandfather of Mahomet was Abd-al-Motalleb, the son of Hashem, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was saved by the courage of the son. The kingdom of Yemen was subject to the Christian princes of Abyssinia; their vassal Abrahah was provoked by an insult to avenge the honour of the cross; and the holy city was invested by a train of elephants and an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed; and, in the first audience, the grandfather of Mahomet demanded the restitution of his cattle. "And why," said Abrahah, "do you not rather implore my clemency in favour of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy?" "Because," replied the intrepid chief, "the cattle is my own; the Caaba belongs to the gods, and *they* will defend their house from injury and sacrilege." The want of provisions, or the valour of the Koreish, compelled the Abyssinians to a disgraceful retreat; their discomfiture has been adorned with a miraculous flight of birds, who showered down stones on the heads of the infidels; and the disease was long commemorated by the æra of the elephant.* The glory of Abd-al-Motalleb was crowned with domestic happiness; he became the father of six daughters and thirteen sons. His best beloved Abdallah, who was the most beautiful and modest of the Arabian youth, married Amina. Their only son, Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed,† was born at Mecca (A.D. 569), four years after the death of Justinian. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; his uncles were strong and numerous; and, in the division of the inheritance, the orphan's share was reduced to five camels and an Æthiopian maid-servant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Abu Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year he entered into the service of Cadijah [Khadīja], a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded

is meant.] It enjoyed from the earliest times the rights of sanctuary; and in the last months of each year the city and the temple were crowded with a long train of pilgrims, who presented their vows and offerings in the house of God. The same rites which are now accomplished by the faithful Musulman were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments; seven times with hasty steps they encircled the Caaba, and kissed the black stone; seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina; and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground."

* The apparent miracle was really an outbreak of small-pox, a disease unknown to the Arabs before. It was the first time, too, that they had seen the elephant. The expedition took place before A.D. 544.

† Mohammed (= "the praised") was used as a personal name before the prophet's time: it is found in a Greek inscription of Syria assigned to A.D. 113 (Μοαμέδου, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 4500). The form *Mahomet* is quite wrong. The exact date of his birth is uncertain: the best tradition places it circa 570.

his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. By this alliance the son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his ancestors; and the judicious matron was content with his domestic virtues, till, in the fortieth year of his age, he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

Qualifications of the prophet.

§ 3. According to the tradition of his companions, Mahomet was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in the use of the purest dialect of Arabia; and the fluency of his speech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence. From his earliest youth he was addicted to religious contemplation: * each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew from the world and from the arms of Cadijah; in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca, he consulted the spirit of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens but in the mind of the prophet.† The faith which, under the name of *Islam*, he preached to his family and nation is compounded of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction, THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND THAT MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.‡

* He had come into connection with the Hanîfs ("penitents"), a set of men who were seeking a substitute for the effete Arabian religion, and was profoundly influenced by their ascetic doctrines (cf. Wellhausen, art. *Mohammedanism* in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, p. 546).

† Gibbon takes no notice of the epileptic or cataleptic fits to which Mohammed was subject, except to reject them as "an absurd calumny of the Greeks." But the fact is indisputable (see the elaborate account of Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, p. 207 ff.), and it cannot be left out of account in estimating his character. He had a delicate constitution and a highly nervous temperament; and the fits from which he suffered were brought on by prolonged mental excitement and the ascetic exercises which he practised. They were often accompanied by visions, such as that of the angel Gabriel with a scroll of silk in his hand, which gave him his call to the prophetic office. These visions merely gave expression to ideas over which he had previously been brooding, but they were regarded by him as revelations from heaven, and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity during the earlier part of his career, when Islam had not yet begun to assume a political aspect. But when he began to give out as divine revelations rules which were dictated by policy, or directly borrowed from others, we can only regard him as affording, as Gibbon would say, "a memorable instance how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud."

‡ *Islam* is the infinitive, and *Muslim* (which has been corrupted into *Moslem* or *Musulman*) is the participle, of the causative form of *salm*, which means "peace." The signification of *Islam* is therefore *peace*, obtained by doing homage to the stronger, pious resignation to the will of God (Alláh).

Islam: one God, and Mahomet the apostle of God.

§ 4. It is the boast of the Jewish apologists that, while the learned nations of antiquity were deluded by the fables of polytheism, their simple ancestors of Palestine preserved the knowledge and worship of the true God. But the children of Israel had ceased to be a people; and the religions of the world were guilty, at least in the eyes of the prophet, of giving sons, or daughters, or companions to the supreme God. In the rude idolatry of the Arabs the crime is manifest and audacious: the Sabians are poorly excused by the pre-eminence of the first planet, or intelligence, in their celestial hierarchy; and in the Magian system the conflict of the two principles betrays the imperfection of the conqueror. The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of paganism; their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the East; the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess.* The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one, and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age; the liberality of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran. Six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels. For the author of Christianity the Mahometans are taught by the prophet to entertain a high and mysterious reverence. The malice of his enemies aspersed his reputation and conspired against his life; but their intention only was guilty; a phantom or a criminal was substituted on the cross; and the innocent saint was translated to the seventh heaven.† During 600 years the gospel was the way of truth

* "The Collyridian heresy was carried from Thrace to Arabia by some women, and the name was borrowed from the κολλυρίς, or cake, which they offered to the goddess" (G.'s *note*).

† The doctrines of the Koran are mainly derived from Christianity and Judaism. Christian influences came from the Churches of Syria and Abyssinia and from the hermits of the Syrian desert country; the Jewish

and salvation; but the Christians insensibly forgot both the laws and the example of their founder; and the evangelic promise of the *Paraclete*, or Holy Ghost, was prefigured in the name, and accomplished in the person, of Mahomet, the greatest and the last of the apostles of God.*

§ 5. The substance of the Koran,† according to Mahomet or his disciples, is uncreated and eternal; subsisting in the essence of the Deity, and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting decrees. A paper copy, in a volume of silk and gems, was brought down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, who successively revealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian prophet. Instead of a perpetual and perfect measure of the divine will, the fragments of the Koran were produced at the discretion of Mahomet; each revelation is suited to the emergencies of his policy or passion; and all contradiction is removed by the saving maxim that any text of Scripture is abrogated or modified by any subsequent passage. The word of God and of the apostle was diligently recorded by his disciples on palm-leaves and the shoulder-bones of mutton; and the pages, without order or connection, were cast into a domestic chest in the custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the sacred volume was collected and published by his friend and successor Abu-beker: the work was revised by the caliph Othman, in the thirtieth year of the Hegira;‡ and the various additions of the Koran assert the same miraculous privilege of an uniform and incorruptible text. In the spirit of enthusiasm or vanity, the prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merit of his book; audaciously challenges both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single page; and presumes to assert that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance. This argument is most powerfully addressed to a devout Arabian, whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture; whose ear is delighted by the music of sounds; and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius. The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel; he will peruse with impatience the endless rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds.

The Koran.

elements were derived from intercourse with the large Jewish population in the Arabian peninsula.

* "Among the prophecies of the Old and New Testament, which are perverted by the fraud or ignorance of the Musulmans, they apply to the prophet the promise of the Comforter; and the easy change of letters, περικλυτός for παράκλητος, affords the etymology of the name of Mohammed" (G.'s *note*). See note on § 2. In one passage of the Koran Mohammed calls himself Ahmed (= περικλυτός) in order to suit the prophecy.

† Ko'rán = "recitation," "reading."

‡ A.D. 650–651 (see § 9). Othman's text has come down to us practically in its original state: later MSS. are all based on it, and the variant readings are not, as a rule, of great importance.

Miracles: the nocturnal journey of Mahomet to heaven.

§ 6. Mahomet did not claim the power of working miracles; but his votaries are more assured than himself of his miraculous gifts. His dream of a nocturnal journey, which is only hinted at in the Koran, is seriously described by tradition as a real and corporeal transaction. A mysterious animal, the Borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem; with his companion Gabriel he successively ascended the seven heavens, and received and repaid the salutations of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their respective mansions. Beyond the seventh heaven Mahomet alone was permitted to proceed; he passed the veil of unity, approached within two bow-shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God. After this familiar though important conversation, he again descended to Jerusalem, remounted the Borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey of many thousand years. According to another legend, the apostle confounded in a national assembly the malicious challenge of the Koreish. His resistless word split asunder the orb of the moon: the obedient planet stooped from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions round the Caaba, saluted Mahomet in the Arabian tongue, and, suddenly contracting her dimensions, entered at the collar, and issued forth through the sleeve, of his shirt. The vulgar are amused with these marvellous tales; but the gravest of the Musulman doctors imitate the modesty of their master, and indulge a latitude of faith or interpretation.

The four duties of Islam.

§ 7. The four practical duties of Islam are pilgrimage, prayer, fasting, and alms. The prophet of Mecca was tempted by prejudice, or policy, or patriotism, to sanctify the rites of the Arabians and the custom of visiting the holy stone of the Caaba. But the ordinary and constant religious duties of a Musulman are prayer, fasting, and alms; and the believer is encouraged to hope that prayer will carry him half way to God, fasting will bring him to the door of his palace, and alms will gain him admittance. I. The devotion of the faithful is repeated at daybreak, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the first watch of the night; without any dispensation of business or pleasure, time or place. Cleanliness is the key of prayer: the frequent lustration of the hands, the face, and the body, which was practised of old by the Arabs, is solemnly enjoined by the Koran; and a permission is formally granted to supply with sand the scarcity of water. Among the theists, who reject the use of images, it has been found necessary to restrain the wanderings of the fancy, by directing the eye and the thought towards a *kibla* or visible point of the horizon. The prophet was at first inclined to gratify the Jews by the choice of Jerusalem; but he soon returned to a more natural partiality; and five times every day the eyes of the nations at Astracan, at Fez, at Delhi, are devoutly turned to the holy temple of

Mecca.* Yet every spot for the service of God is equally pure: the Mahometans indifferently pray in their chamber or in the street. As a distinction from the Jews and Christians, the Friday in each week is set apart for the useful institution of public worship; the people is assembled in the mosque; and the imam, some respectable elder, ascends the pulpit, to begin the prayer and pronounce the sermon. II. Mahomet instituted, in each year, a fast of thirty days; and strenuously recommended the observance as a discipline which purifies the soul and subdues the body, as a salutary exercise of obedience to the will of God and his apostle. During the month of Ramadan, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Musulman abstains from eating, and drinking, and baths, and perfumes; from all nourishment that can restore his strength, from all pleasure that can gratify his senses. In the revolution of the lunar year, the Ramadan coincides, by turns, with the winter cold and the summer heat; and the patient martyr, without assuaging his thirst with a drop of water, must expect the close of a tedious and sultry day. The interdiction of wine, peculiar to some orders of priests or hermits, is converted by Mahomet alone into a positive and general law; and a considerable portion of the globe has abjured, at his command, the use of that salutary, though dangerous, liquor. III. The Koran repeatedly inculcates, not as a merit, but as a strict and indispensable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate. Mahomet, perhaps, is the only lawgiver who has defined the precise measure of charity: the standard may vary with the degree and nature of property, as it consists either in money, in corn or cattle, in fruits or merchandise; but the Musulman does not accomplish the law, unless he bestows a *tenth* of his revenue; and if his conscience accuses him of fraud or extortion, the tenth, under the idea of restitution, is enlarged to a *fifth*.

Rewards and punishments.

The two articles of belief, and the four practical duties, of Islam, are guarded by rewards and punishments; and the faith of the Musulman is devoutly fixed on the event of the judgment and the last day.† At the blast of the trumpet new worlds will start into being; angels, genii, and men will arise from the dead, and the human soul will again be united to the body. The re-union of the soul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind. The doom of the infidels is common: the measure of their guilt and punishment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude

* The change took place when Mohammed's influence had become consolidated at Medina and the Jews refused to assimilate themselves to the new politico-religious system (cf. § 12). In this alteration, "what he chiefly did was to make a concession to [Arab] heathenism, and bring about a nationalization of Islam, for the purpose of welding together the Arab tribes into one community" (Wellhausen).

† This central idea was derived, as Wellhausen has pointed out, not from Judaism, nor from the Christian Churches, but from the monks of the Syro-Babylonian desert.

of the errors which they have entertained; the eternal mansions of the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the idolaters, are sunk below each other in the abyss; and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites who have assumed the mask of religion. After the greater part of mankind has been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. According as the shares of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of the abyss; but the innocent, treading in the footsteps of Mahomet, will gloriously enter the gates of paradise, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells. The term of expiation will vary from nine hundred to seven thousand years; but the prophet has judiciously promised that *all* his disciples, whatever may be their sins, shall be saved, by their own faith and his intercession, from eternal damnation. In paradise every pleasure that can gratify the senses awaits the faithful. Seventy-two *Houris*, or black-eyed girls of resplendent beauty, will be created for the use of the meanest believer, who will dwell in palaces of marble, clothed in robes of silk, and surrounded by the most costly luxuries.

Mahomet preaches at Mecca (A.D. 609–610).

§ 8. The first and most arduous conquests of Mahomet were those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend; since he presented himself as a prophet to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man. Yet Cadijah believed the words, and cherished the glory, of her husband; the obsequious and affectionate Zeid was tempted by the prospect of freedom; the illustrious Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, embraced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero; and the wealth, the moderation, the veracity of Abu-beker confirmed the religion of the prophet whom he was destined to succeed. By his persuasion ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private lessons of Islam; they yielded to the voice of reason and enthusiasm; they repeated the fundamental creed, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God;" and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honours, with the command of armies and the government of kingdoms. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, the first-fruits of his mission; but in the fourth year he assumed the prophetic office, and, resolving to impart to his family the light of divine truth, he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is said, and a bowl of milk, for the entertainment of forty guests of the race of Hashem. "Friends and kinsmen," said Mahomet to the assembly, "I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will support my burden? Who among you will be my companion and my vizir?" No answer was returned, till the silence of astonishment, and doubt, and contempt was at length broken

by the impatient courage of Ali, a youth in the fourteenth year of his age. "O prophet, I am the man; whosoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them." Mahomet accepted his offer with transport, and Abu Taleb was ironically exhorted to respect the superior dignity of his son. In a more serious tone, the father of Ali advised his nephew to relinquish his impracticable design. "Spare your remonstrances," replied the intrepid fanatic to his uncle and benefactor; "if they should place the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left, they should not divert me from my course." He persevered ten years in the exercise of his mission; and the religion which has overspread the East and the West advanced with a slow and painful progress within the walls of Mecca.

He is opposed by the Koreish and driven from Mecca (A.D. 613-622).

§ 9. The people of Mecca were hardened in their unbelief by superstition and envy. The elders of the city, the uncles of the prophet, affected to despise the presumption of an orphan, the reformer of his country. But though Abu Taleb did not adopt the religion of his nephew, he protected his fame and person against the assaults of the Koreishites, who had long been jealous of the pre-eminence of the family of Hashem; the most helpless or timid of the disciples retired to Æthiopia,* and the prophet withdrew himself to various places of strength in the town and country. A doubtful truce restored the appearances of concord, till the death of Abu Taleb abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domestic comforts by the loss of his faithful and generous Cadijah [A.D. 619-620]. Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah [Omayya], succeeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca.† A zealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Hashem, he convened an assembly of the Koreishites and their allies to decide the fate of the apostle. His death was resolved; and they agreed that a sword from each tribe should be buried in his heart, to divide the guilt of his blood and baffle the vengeance of the Hashemites. An angel or a spy revealed their conspiracy, and flight was the only resource of Mahomet. At the dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abu-beker, he silently escaped from his house; the assassins watched at the door; but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered with the green vestment of the apostle. The Koreish respected the piety of the heroic youth; but some verses of Ali, which are still extant, exhibit an interesting picture of his anxiety, his tenderness, and his religious confidence. Three days Mahomet and his

* The Christians of Abyssinia were thus regarded as nearly allied to the Moslems in matters of faith.

† The expression is misleading. The city had no corporate political life: political action depended entirely on the heads of the several families, and Abū Sophyān's influence was due merely to his position as chief of the powerful house of Omayya.

companion were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca. The diligence of the Koreish explored every haunt in the neighbourhood of the city: they arrived at the entrance of the cavern; but the providential deceit of a spider's web and a pigeon's nest is supposed to convince them that the place was solitary and inviolate. "We are only two," said the trembling Abu-beker. "There is a third," replied the prophet; "it is God himself." No sooner was the pursuit abated than the two fugitives issued from the rock and mounted their camels; on the road to Medina they were overtaken by the emissaries of the Koreish; they redeemed themselves with prayers and promises from their hands. In this eventful moment the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world. The flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina (A.D. 622, April 19) has fixed the memorable æra of the *Hegira*, which, at the end of twelve centuries, still discriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nations.*

Received as prince of Medina (A.D. 622).

§ 10. The religion of the Koran might have perished in its cradle had not Medina embraced with faith and reverence the holy outcasts of Mecca. Some of the noblest citizens of Medina, in a pilgrimage to the Caaba,† were converted by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return they diffused the belief of God and his prophet, and the new alliance was ratified by their deputies in two secret and nocturnal interviews on a hill in the suburbs of Mecca. They promised, in the name of the city, that if Mahomet should be banished they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and children. Their treaty was ratified by the people, who unanimously embraced the profession of Islam; and when the prophet made his public entry into Medina, sixteen days after his flight from Mecca, he was hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion. His bravest disciples, who had been scattered by the storm, assembled round his person; and the equal, though various, merit of the Moslems was distinguished by the names of *Mohagerians* and *Ansars*, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina.‡ To eradicate the seeds of jealousy, Mahomet judiciously coupled his principal followers with the rights and obligations of brethren; and when Ali found himself without a peer, the prophet tenderly declared that *he* would be the companion and brother of the noble youth. The expedient was crowned with success; the holy fraternity was respected in peace and war, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity.

His regal dignity: he declares war against the infidels.

From his establishment at Medina, Mahomet assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office; and it was impious

* The era of the Hegira (Hijra), or "Flight," was established by Omar, the second caliph.

† Three years before the Flight, A.D. 619-620.

‡ *Mohājira* = Emigrants; *Ansār* = Defenders.

to appeal from a judge whose decrees were inspired by the divine wisdom.* A small portion of ground, the patrimony of two orphans, was acquired by gift or purchase; on that chosen spot he built a house and a mosque, more venerable in their rude simplicity than the palaces and temples of the Assyrian caliphs. His seal of gold, or silver, was inscribed with the apostolic title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly assembly, he leaned against the trunk of a palm-tree; and it was long before he indulged himself in the use of a chair or pulpit of rough timber. The choice of an independent people had exalted the fugitive of Mecca to the rank of a sovereign; and he was invested with the just prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging offensive or defensive war. The imperfection of human rights was supplied and armed by the plenitude of divine power; the prophet of Medina assumed, in his new revelations, a fiercer and more sanguinary tone: the means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed, and he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and, without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The fair option of friendship, or submission, or battle, was proposed to the enemies of Mahomet. If they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the religion which they had embraced. The clemency of the prophet was decided by his interest, yet he seldom trampled on a prostrate enemy; and he seems to promise that on the payment of a tribute the least guilty of his unbelieving subjects might be indulged in their worship, or at least in their imperfect faith. In the first months of his reign he practised the lessons of holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina; the martial apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges; and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself or his lieutenants. The Arab continued to unite the professions of a merchant and a robber, and his petty excursions for the defence or the attack of a caravan insensibly prepared his troops for the conquest of Arabia. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder; and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The sword," says Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and of hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer: whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as

* Mohammed won his position in the same way as Moses (Exod. xviii.); cf. also the story of Deioces the Median king's rise to power in Herod., i. 96, 97. Out of Mohammed's (oral) decisions arose the *Sunna*, or custom, as the collective body of traditional judgments was called.

musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm; the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination; and the death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue, if the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence; there is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in their beds; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy.

His defensive wars against the Koreish of Mecca [A.D. 623–627].

§ 11. Perhaps the Koreish would have been content with the flight of Mahomet, had they not been provoked and alarmed by the vengeance of an enemy who could intercept their Syrian trade as it passed and repassed through the territory of Medina. Abu Sophian himself conducted a wealthy caravan of a thousand camels; the fortune or dexterity of his march escaped the vigilance of Mahomet; but the chief of the Koreish was informed that the holy robbers were placed in ambush to await his return. He despatched a messenger to his brethren of Mecca, and they were roused by the fear of losing their merchandise, unless they hastened to his relief. The armies met in the famous vale of Beder, three stations from Medina; the Musulmans fainted and were pressed; but at length the Koreish took to flight, leaving seventy of their bravest on the field (A.D. 623). The resentment of the public and private loss stimulated Abu Sophian to collect a more powerful army and advance against Medina.* The second battle was fought on Mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina: the overwhelming number of the enemy prevailed; the prophet was wounded, and the Musulmans gave way; but the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. It was attacked in A.D. 627, by an army of 10,000 enemies; and this third expedition is variously named, from the *nations* which marched under the banner of Abu Sophian, from the *ditch* † which was drawn before the city, and a camp of 3000 Musulmans. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; and the war was protracted twenty days, till the final separation of the confederates. A tempest of wind, rain, and hail overturned their tents; their private quarrels were fomented by an insidious adversary; and the Koreish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne, or to check the conquests, of their invincible exile.

He subdues the Jews of Arabia [A.D. 625–628].

§ 12. The choice of Jerusalem for the first kibla of prayer discovers the early propensity of Mahomet in favour of the Jews;

* In A.D. 625, the intervening year being spent in preparations. Gibbon assigns it to A.D. 623.

† Generally called the War of the Fosse.

and happy would it have been for their temporal interest had they recognized in the Arabian prophet the hope of Israel and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last moment of his life. After repelling the attacks of the Koreish, Mahomet turned his arms against the ancient and wealthy town of Chaibar, situate six days' journey to the north-east of Medina, and the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia:* the territory, a fertile spot in the desert, was covered with plantations and cattle, and protected by eight castles, some of which were esteemed of impregnable strength [A.D. 628, May]. After the reduction of the castles, the town of Chaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured, in the presence of Mahomet, to force a confession of his hidden treasure; the industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration; they were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for *his* emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were transplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia.

Submission of Mecca [A.D. 630].

§ 13. Five times each day the eyes of Mahomet were turned towards Mecca, and he was urged by the most sacred and powerful motives to revisit, as a conqueror, the city and the temple from whence he had been driven as an exile. In his first expedition against the city [A.D. 628, March] he was alarmed by the numbers and resolution of the Koreish, and thought it more prudent to conclude with the Koreish and their allies a truce of ten years, in which he stipulated only, for the ensuing year, the humble privilege of entering the city as a friend and of remaining three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage. The faith and hope of the pilgrims were rekindled by the prospect of Mecca; their swords were sheathed; seven times in the footsteps of the apostle they encompassed the Caaba; the Koreish had retired to the hills, and Mahomet, after the customary sacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. The people was edified by his devotion; the hostile chiefs were awed, or divided, or seduced; and both Caled [Khālid] and Amrou [Amr], the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, most seasonably deserted the sinking cause of idolatry. The power of Mahomet was increased by the submission of the Arabian tribes; ten thousand soldiers were assembled for the conquest of Mecca; and the idolaters, the weaker party, were easily convicted of violating the truce. Enthusiasm and discipline impelled the march and preserved the secret, till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed to the astonished Koreish the

* Opposition to Mohammed was steadily fomented in Khaibar by the powerful family of the Nadirites, whom he had expelled (in A.D. 625) from Medina; it was they who brought about the War of the Fosse (§ 11).

design, the approach, and the irresistible force of the enemy. The haughty Abu Sophian presented the keys of the city,* and confessed that the son of Abdallah was the apostle of the true God. The victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions, of Mecca. The people of Mecca deserved their pardon by the profession of Islam; and after an exile of seven years, the fugitive missionary was enthroned as the prince and prophet of his native country [A.D. 630]. But the 360 idols of the Caaba were ignominiously broken; the house of God was purified and adorned; as an example to future times, the apostle again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim; and a perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city.†

Conquest of Arabia (A.D. 629–632).

The conquest of Mecca determined the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes; who, according to the vicissitudes of fortune, had obeyed, or disregarded, the eloquence or the arms of the prophet. Some idolaters still resisted, but they were soon subdued; their temples were demolished, and the same sentence of destruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. The nation submitted to the God and the sceptre of Mahomet; the opprobrious name of tribute was abolished; the spontaneous or reluctant oblations of alms and tithes were applied to the service of religion; and one hundred and fourteen thousand Moslems accompanied the last pilgrimage of the apostle.‡

First war of the Mahometans against the Roman empire [A.D. 629].

§ 14. When Heraclius returned in triumph from the Persian war, he entertained, at Emesa, one of the ambassadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes and nations of the earth to the profession of Islam. The first expedition of the Moslems against the Roman empire was the invasion of the territory of Palestine, that extends to the eastward of the Jordan; and the battle of Muta [A.D. 629] was the first military action which tried the valour of the Moslems against a foreign enemy. Zeid, the slave of the prophet, who was entrusted with the holy banner, was slain; but the valour of Caled, the proselyte of Mecca, withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the camp he was chosen to command: his skilful evolutions of the ensuing day secured

* It is probable, however, that Abū Sophyān had come to an understanding with Mohammed (Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, iv. 120).

† Wellhausen points out that the conquest of Mecca powerfully affected the future of Islam: it resulted in the domination of the Koraish. "In making Mecca the Jerusalem of Islam, . . . what Mohammed sought was to recommend Islam to Arabic prejudices by incorporating this fragment of heathenism [viz. the usages at the Kaaba]; and at the same time he was influenced by his local patriotism," and set himself to pet the Koraish. "Mohammed sowed the seeds of the struggle between religious democracy, such as Islam demanded, and the national aristocracy, which alone was fit to hold rule in Arabia. It was he who opened the way to sovereignty for Abū Sofyān and his house, the Omayyads."

‡ March, A.D. 632, two months before his death. Better traditions give the number as 40,000; in any case it was a triumphal march.

either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens;* and Caled is renowned among his brethren and his enemies by the glorious appellation of the *Sword of God*. After the conquest of Mecca the sovereign of Arabia affected to anticipate the hostile preparations of Heraclius; and solemnly proclaimed war against the Romans, without attempting to disguise the hardships and dangers of the enterprise. The Moslems were discouraged: they alleged the want of money, or horses, or provisions; the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of the summer: "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant prophet. He disdained to compel their service; but on his return he admonished the most guilty by an excommunication of fifty days. Their desertion enhanced the merit of Abu-beker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes; Mahomet displayed his banner at the head of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot; but he did not advance further than the grove and fountain of Tabuc, situate ten days' journey from Medina and Damascus [A.D. 630]. He declared himself satisfied with the peaceful intentions, he was more probably daunted by the martial array, of the emperor of the East. But the active and intrepid Caled spread around the terror of his name; and the prophet received the submission of the tribes and cities, from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea. To his Christian subjects Mahomet readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship. The weakness of their Arabian brethren had restrained them from opposing his ambition; the disciples of Jesus were endeared to the enemy of the Jews; and it was the interest of a conqueror to propose a fair capitulation to the most powerful religion of the earth.

§ 15. Till the age of sixty-three years the strength of Mahomet was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. During four years the health of the prophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal disease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves; minutely directed the order of his funeral; and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death he regularly performed the function of public prayer. The choice of Abu-beker to supply his place appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle and the faith of an enthusiast; described the visits of Gabriel, who bid an everlasting farewell to the earth; and expressed his lively confidence, not only in

Death of Mahomet (A.D. 632, June).

* The Moslems were really defeated.

the mercy, but in the favour, of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet. The request was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution: his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha ['Aisha], the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and, with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words: "O God! . . . pardon my sins. . . . Yes, . . . I come, . . . among my fellow-citizens on high;" and thus peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor (A.D. 632, June 8). He was piously interred by the hands of his nearest kinsman, on the same spot on which he expired; Medina has been sanctified by the death and burial of Mahomet; and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aside from the way, to bow in voluntary devotion before the simple tomb of the prophet.

His character.

At the conclusion of the life of Mahomet it may perhaps be expected that I should balance his faults and virtues, that I should decide whether the title of enthusiast or impostor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately conversant with the son of Abdallah, the task would still be difficult and the success uncertain; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting resemblance would not equally apply to the solitary of Mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition; and till the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and reason; and a slight conversation with the Jews and Christians would teach him to despise and detest the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to rescue his country from the dominion of sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm suggestions of the understanding or the fancy would be felt as the inspirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God.* From enthusiasm to imposture the step is perilous and slippery. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mahomet were those of pure and genuine benevolence; but a human missionary is incapable of cherishing the obstinate unbelievers who reject his claims and persecute his life; the stern passions of pride and revenge were kindled in the bosom of Mahomet, and he sighed for the destruction of the rebels whom he had condemned. The injustice of Mecca and the choice of Medina transformed the citizen into

* See § 3, *note*.

a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies. In the exercise of political government he was compelled to abate of the stern rigour of fanaticism, and to comply in some measure with the prejudices and passions of his followers. The use of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of the faith;* and Mahomet commanded or approved the assassination of the Jews and idolaters who had escaped from the field of battle. Of his last years ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect that he secretly smiled at the enthusiasm of his youth and the credulity of his proselytes. A philosopher will observe that *their* credulity and *his* success would tend more strongly to fortify the assurance of his divine mission, that his interest and religion were inseparably connected, and that his conscience would be soothed by the persuasion that he alone was absolved by the Deity from the obligation of positive and moral laws. The sins of Mahomet may be allowed as an evidence of his sincerity. In the support of truth, the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed less criminal; and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and justice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a priest I can surprise a word or action of unaffected humanity; and the decree of Mahomet that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children may suspend or moderate the censure of the historian.

His private life.

§ 16. The good sense of Mahomet despised the pomp of royalty; the apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family; he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garment. Disdaining the penance and merit of an hermit, he observed, without effort or vanity, the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley-bread; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey; but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Mahomet espoused seventeen or fifteen wives; and eleven are enumerated who occupied at Medina their separate apartments round the house of the apostle. What is singular enough, they were all widows, excepting only Ayesha, the daughter of Abu-beker. The youth, the beauty, the spirit of Ayesha gave her a superior ascendant; she was beloved and trusted by the prophet; and, after his death, the daughter of Abu-beker was long revered as the mother of the faithful. But during the twenty-four years of his marriage with Cadijah, her youthful husband abstained from the right of polygamy, and the pride or tenderness of the venerable matron was never insulted by the society of a rival. After her death he placed her in the rank of the four perfect

* The motive was often interest or revenge, *e.g.* in the case of the numerous murders for which he was responsible, or the wholesale slaughter of six hundred Jews in A.D. 627.

women, with the sister of Moses, the mother of Jesus, and Fatima, the best beloved of his daughters. "Was she not old?" said Ayesha, with the insolence of a blooming beauty; "has not God given you a better in her place?" "No, by God," said Mahomet, with an effusion of honest gratitude, "there never can be a better! She believed in me when men despised me; she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted by the world."

His wives and children.

In the largest indulgence of polygamy, the founder of a religion and empire might aspire to multiply the chances of a numerous posterity and a lineal succession. The hopes of Mahomet were fatally disappointed. Cadijah alone, and Mary, his Egyptian concubine, bore him any children. But the four sons of Cadijah died in their infancy, and Ibrahim, the son of Mary, lived only fifteen months. Cadijah had likewise given him four daughters, who were married to the most faithful of his disciples: the three eldest died before their father; but Fatima, who possessed his confidence and love, became the wife of her cousin Ali and the mother of an illustrious progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his descendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the series of the Saracen caliphs, a title which describes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and successors of the apostle of God.*

Character of Ali.

§ 17. The birth, the alliance, the character of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Taleb was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Hashem, and the hereditary prince or guardian of the city and temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct; but the husband of Fatima might expect the inheritance and blessing of her father; the Arabs had sometimes been patient of a female reign; and the two grandsons of the prophet had often been fondled in his lap and shown in his pulpit, as the hope of his age and the chief of the youth of paradise. From the first hour of his mission to the last rites of his funeral, the apostle was never forsaken by a generous friend, whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second Moses. The son of Abu Taleb was afterwards reproached for neglecting to secure his interest by a solemn declaration of his right, which would have silenced all competition and sealed his succession by the decrees of Heaven. But the unsuspecting hero confided in himself; the jealousy of empire, and perhaps the fear of opposition, might suspend the resolutions of Mahomet; and the bed of sickness was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Abu-beker and the enemy of Ali.

Reigns of Abu-beker, Omar, and Othman (A.D. 632–656).

§ 18. The silence and death of the prophet restored the liberty of the people; and his companions convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor. The hereditary claim and lofty spirit of Ali were offensive to an aristocracy of elders,

* Arabic Khalīfa, "successor."

desirous of bestowing and resuming the sceptre by a free and frequent election; the Koreish could never be reconciled to the proud pre-eminence of the line of Hashem; the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled; the *fugitives* of Mecca and the *auxiliaries* of Medina asserted their respective merits; and the rash proposal of choosing two independent caliphs would have crushed in their infancy the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeased by the disinterested resolution of Omar, who, suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, stretched forth his hand and declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Abu-beker. After a reign of two years (A.D. 632–634) the aged caliph was summoned by the angel of death. In his testament, with the tacit approbation of the companions, he bequeathed the sceptre to the firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. After a reign of ten years (A.D. 634–644) Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin; he rejected with equal impartiality the names of his son and of Ali, refused to load his conscience with the sins of his successor, and devolved on six of the most respectable companions the arduous task of electing a commander of the faithful. Their choice fell upon Othman, the secretary of Mahomet (A.D. 644–656); nor was it till after the third caliph, twenty-four years after the death of the prophet, that Ali was invested by the popular choice with the regal and sacerdotal office.

Discord of the Turks and Persians. Death of Othman.

§ 19. The religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is still maintained in the immortal hatred of the Persians and Turks. The former, who are branded with the appellation of *Shiites* or sectaries, have enriched the Mahometan creed with a new article of faith; and if Mahomet be the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God. In their private converse, in their public worship, they bitterly execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indefeasible right to the dignity of Imam and Caliph. The *Sonnites*, who are supported by the general consent and orthodox tradition of the Musulmans,* entertain a more impartial, or at least a more decent, opinion. They respect the memory of Abu-beker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy and legitimate successors of the prophet. But they assign the last and most humble place to the husband of Fatima, in the persuasion that the order of succession was determined by the degrees of sanctity. An historian who balances the four caliphs with a hand unshaken by superstition will calmly pronounce that their manners were alike pure and exemplary; that their zeal was fervent, and probably sincere; and that, in the midst of riches and power, their lives were devoted to the practice of moral and religious duties. But the public virtues of Abu-beker and Omar, the prudence of the first, the severity of the second, maintained the peace and prosperity of their reigns. The feeble temper and declining age of Othman were

* *Sunna* means "tradition" or "custom."

incapable of sustaining the weight of conquest and empire. The spirit of discord went forth in the provinces; the deputies of the rebels assembled at Medina, and despatched a haughty mandate to their sovereign, requiring him to execute justice or to descend from the throne.* The caliph had lost the only guard of his predecessors, the esteem and confidence of the Moslems: during a siege of six weeks his water and provisions were intercepted, and the feeble gates of the palace were protected only by the scruples of the more timorous rebels. Forsaken by those who had abused his simplicity, the helpless and venerable caliph expected the approach of death: the brother of Ayesha marched at the head of the assassins; and Othman, with the Koran in his lap, was pierced with a multitude of wounds. A tumultuous anarchy of five days was appeased by the inauguration of Ali.

Reign of Ali [A.D. 656–661].

§ 20. A life of prayer and contemplation had not chilled the martial activity of Ali; but in a mature age, after a long experience of mankind, he still betrayed in his conduct the rashness and indiscretion of youth. In the first days of his reign he neglected to secure, either by gifts or fetters, the doubtful allegiance of Telha and Zobeir, two of the most powerful of the Arabian chiefs.† They escaped from Medina to Mecca, and from thence to Bassora [Basra], where they erected the standard of revolt. The mask of patriotism is allowed to cover the most glaring inconsistencies; and the enemies, perhaps the assassins, of Othman now demanded vengeance for his blood They were accompanied in their flight by Ayesha, the widow of the prophet, who cherished to the last hour of her life an implacable hatred against the husband and the posterity of Fatima. The caliph encountered and defeated the superior numbers of the rebels under the walls of Bassora. Their leaders, Telha and Zobeir, were slain in the first battle that stained with civil blood the arms of the Moslems. After passing through the ranks to animate the troops, Ayesha had chosen her post amidst the dangers of the field. In the heat of the action, seventy men who held the bridle of her camel were successively killed or wounded; and the cage or litter in which she sat was stuck with javelins and darts like the quills of a porcupine. The venerable captive sustained with firmness the reproaches of the conqueror, and was speedily dismissed to her proper station, at

* The revolt was led by the "Fugitives" (Emigrants), whose chief grievance was that the caliph had filled up every position with his own relatives, and thus gave an unfair advantage to the Koraishites. To the party belonged also the Khārijites (*i.e.* Seceders, Dissenters), who protested against "allowing the whole spiritual movement to issue in a secular and political result, in the establishment within the conquered territories of an Arabian kingdom, which diametrically contradicted the theocratic ideal" (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 564).

† Talha and Zobair were two of the most prominent of the "Fugitives" (Emigrants), and had joined in the opposition to Othman merely from selfish motives.

the tomb of Mahomet, with the respect and tenderness that was still due to the widow of the apostle. After this victory, which was styled the Day of the Camel,* Ali marched against a more formidable adversary: against Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, who had assumed the title of caliph, and whose claim was supported by the forces of Syria and the interest of the house of Ommiyah [Omayya].† In the plain of Siffin, which extends along the western bank of the Euphrates, Ali drove back the forces of his adversary; but the certain victory was snatched from his grasp by the disobedience and enthusiasm of his troops. Their conscience was awed by the solemn appeal to the books of the Koran which Moawiyah exposed on the foremost lances; and Ali was compelled to yield to a disgraceful truce and an insidious compromise. He retreated with sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his party was discouraged; the distant provinces of Persia,‡ of Yemen, and of Egypt were subdued or seduced by his crafty rival; and the stroke of fanaticism, which was aimed against the three chiefs of the nation, was fatal only to the cousin of Mahomet. In the temple of Mecca three Charijites§ discoursed of the disorders of the church and state: they soon agreed that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amrou, the viceroy of Egypt, would restore the peace and unity of religion. Each of the assassins chose his victim, poisoned his dagger, devoted his life, and secretly repaired to the scene of action. Their resolution was equally desperate; but the first mistook the person of Amrou and stabbed the deputy who occupied his seat; Moawiyah was dangerously hurt by the second; the lawful caliph, in the mosque of Cufa, received a mortal wound from the hand of the third. He expired in the sixty-third year of his age [A.D. 661], and mercifully recommended to his children that they would dispatch the murderer by a single stroke. The sepulchre of Ali was concealed from the tyrants of the house of Ommiyah; but in the fourth age of the Hegira, a tomb, a temple, a city, arose near the ruins of Cufa. Many thousands of the Shiites repose in holy ground at the feet of the vicar of God; and the desert is vivified by the numerous and annual visits of the Persians, who esteem their devotion not less meritorious than the pilgrimage of Mecca.

§ 21. The persecutors of Mahomet usurped the inheritance of his children. After the death of Ali, Moawiyah negotiated the abdication of his son Hassan, who retired without a sigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. The aspiring wishes of the caliph were finally crowned by the important change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom. Some murmurs of freedom or fanaticism attested

Elevation of the Ommiades (Omayyads): reign of Moawiyah (A.D. 661–680).

* From the camel on which Ayesha rode.
† Moāwiya was governor of Syria, where he had won great popularity.
‡ Part of Persia, at least, was still retained by Ali.
§ See note on § 19.

the reluctance of the Arabs; but the designs of Moawiyah were conducted with vigour and address; and his son Yezid, a feeble and dissolute youth, was proclaimed as the commander of the faithful and the successor of the apostle of God. Hosein, the younger brother of Hassan, was murdered at a later period (A.D. 680); and on the annual festival of his martyrdom, in the devout pilgrimage to his sepulchre, his Persian votaries abandon their souls to the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation.*

Posterity of Mahomet and Ali.

The glory of martyrdom superseded the right of primogeniture; and the twelve IMAMS, or pontiffs, of the Persian creed, are Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and the lineal descendants of Hosein to the ninth generation. In the lapse of two or three centuries, the posterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, had multiplied to the number of 33,000; the race of Ali might be equally prolific; and in the various conditions of princes, or doctors, or nobles, or merchants, or beggars, a swarm of the genuine or fictitious descendants of Mahomet and Ali is honoured with the appellation of sheiks, or sherifs, or emirs. In the Ottoman empire they are distinguished by a green turban; receive a stipend from the treasury; are judged only by their chief; and, however debased by fortune or character, still assert the proud pre-eminence of their birth. A family of three hundred persons, the pure and orthodox branch of the caliph Hassan, is preserved without taint or suspicion in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and still retains, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, the custody of the temple and the sovereignty of their native land. The fame and merit of Mahomet would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koreish transcends the recent majesty of the kings of the earth.

[Weil, *Mohammed der Prophet* (1843); Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad* (1861); Sir W. Muir, *Life of Mahomet* (1858–1861, and abridged ed. 1877); Wellhausen, *Mohammed and the First Four Caliphs* in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvi.; S. Lane-Poole, *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammad* [from the Koran] (1882). For the Koran, Th. Nöldeke in *Encyclopædia Britannica, s.v.* Mohammedanism, and *Geschichte des Qorâns* (1860); Weil, *Einleitung in den Kordn* (1878); translation by Palmer and selections by E. W. Lane.]

* For the annual Persian Passion-play, cf. Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism* (1st ser.); Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, c. vii.; etc.

Interior of the great Mosque at Cordova (begun in the reign of Abd-ar-Rahman).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONQUESTS OF THE ARABS OR SARACENS. EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS.

§ 1. Conquests of the Saracens: division of the subject. § 2. I. Conquest of Persia. § 3. II. Conquest of Syria. § 4. III. Conquest of Egypt: the Alexandrian library. § 5. IV. Conquest of Africa. § 6. V. Conquest of Spain. § 7. The empire of the Caliphs (A.D. 718). § 8. Limits of the Arabian conquests. § 9. First siege of Constantinople by the Arabs (A.D. 668). § 10. Second siege of Constantinople (A.D. 717–718). § 11. Invention and use of the Greek fire. § 12. Invasion of France by the Saracens: their defeat by Charles Martel (A.D. 732). § 13. Fall of the Ommiades [Omayyads]: elevation of the Abbassides [Abbāsids] (A.D. 750). § 14. Revolt of Spain (A.D. 755): triple division of the caliphate. § 15. Magnificence of the caliphs (A.D. 750–960). § 16. Introduction of learning among the Arabians. § 17. Their real progress in the sciences. § 18. Wars of Harun al-Rashid against the Romans (A.D. 781–806). § 19. The Arabs subdue Crete (A.D. 823) and Sicily (A.D. 827–878). § 20. Invasion of Rome by the Saracens (A.D. 846): victory and reign of Leo IV. (A.D. 849). § 21. Disorders of the Turkish guards (A.D. 841–870, etc). § 22. Rise and progress of the Carmathians (A.D. 890–951). § 23. Revolt of the provinces: the independent dynasties. § 24. Fallen state of the caliphs of Bagdad (A.D. 936, etc.). § 25. The Eastern conquests of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces (A.D. 963–975).

Conquests of the Saracens: division of the subject.

§ 1. IN the victorious days of the Roman republic it had been the aim of the senate to confine their councils and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they

provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims of policy were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigour and success they invaded the successors of Augustus and those of Artaxerxes ; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. One hundred years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over the various and distant provinces which may be comprised under the names of, I. Persia ; II. Syria ; III. Egypt ; IV. Africa ; and V. Spain. The first caliphs ascended the throne in a venerable or mature age ; and their conquests were gained by their lieutenants. Except the presence of Omar at the siege of Jerusalem, their longest expeditions were the frequent pilgrimage from Medina to Mecca ; and they calmly received the tidings of victory as they prayed or preached before the sepulchre of the prophet.

I. Conquest of Persia.

§ 2. I. *Conquest of Persia* (A.D. 635–651).—In the first year of the first caliph, Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes, was placed upon the Persian throne ; and the date of the accession of the last king of Persia coincides with an astronomical period, called the era of Yezdegerd (June 16, A.D. 632). Soon after his accession the Saracens poured into his dominions ; and the fate of the Persian monarchy was virtually decided by the battle of Cadesia [Kādisīya], a city near the Euphrates [A.D. 635]. After this victory the wealthy province of Irak or Assyria submitted to the caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of Bassora [Basra], which was planted upon the western bank of the united channel of the Euphrates and the Tigris, midway between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams. In the following year * Ctesiphon or Madayn was taken and sacked by the Saracens ; and the capital of the Sassanian kings was gradually deserted. The Saracens disliked the air and situation of the place, and Omar was advised by his general to remove the seat of government to the western side of the Euphrates, where the city of *Cufa* rapidly arose.

The sack of Ctesiphon was followed by the successive reduction of the provinces of the Persian empire ; and at the end of a few years the authority of the caliphs was acknowledged throughout the entire dominions of the Sassanian monarchs. This mighty conquest was achieved by the battles of Jalula and Nehavend. After the loss of the former, Yezdegerd fled to the mountains of Farsistan. But the courage of the nation survived that of the monarch : the Persians made a third and final stand for their religion and country ; and the decisive battle of Nehavend was styled by the Arabs the victory of victories [A.D. 642]. Yezdegerd, who fled beyond the Oxus as far as the Jaxartes, returned with an army of Turks to conquer the

* A.D. 636, according to Weil, *Geschichte d. Chalifen*, but more probably in the spring of A.D. 637 (Muir, *The Caliphate*, 3rd ed. 1899, p. 127).

inheritance of his fathers. The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing their swords, were the spectators of his ruin and death. The grandson of Chosroes was betrayed by his servant, insulted by the seditious inhabitants of Mery, and oppressed, defeated, and pursued by his barbarian allies. He reached the banks of a river, but was overtaken and slaughtered by the Turkish cavalry, in the nineteenth year of his unhappy reign (A.D. 651).

After the fall of the Persian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and of the Turks. This narrow boundary was soon overleaped by the spirit of the Arabs; the governors of Chorasan extended their successive inroads; but the final conquest of Transoxiana, as well as of Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the inactive Walid; and the name of Catibah [Kutaiba], the camel-driver, declares the origin and merit of his successful lieutenant. While one of his colleagues displayed the first Mahometan banner on the banks of the Indus, the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian Sea were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the prophet and of the caliph [A.D. 715]. A tribute of two millions of pieces of gold was imposed on the infidels; the Musulman chief pronounced a sermon in the new mosque of Carizme;* and the emperors of China solicited the friendship of the victorious Arabs.

II. Conquest of Syria.

§ 3. II. *Conquest of Syria* [A.D. 634-638].—The command of the army destined to invade Syria was delegated by Abu-beker to Abu Obeidah, one of the companions of Mahomet; whose zeal and devotion were assuaged, without being abated, by the singular mildness and benevolence of his temper. But in all the emergencies of war the soldiers demanded the superior genius of Caled [Khālid]; and whoever might be the choice of the prince, the *Sword of God* was both in fact and fame the foremost leader of the Saracens. They commenced the campaign by the capture of Bosra, and then advanced against Damascus, the ancient capital of Syria. The forces which Heraclius sent under the command of his general Werdan, to repel the invaders of Syria, were defeated in a great battle on the plain of Aiznadin [Ajnādain] in the south of Palestine. The loss of this battle was followed by the capture of Damascus. The forces of the emperor were again signally defeated on the banks of the Yermuk, which flows into the lake of Tiberias: Emesa or Hems, and Heliopolis or Baalbec, the former the metropolis of the plain, the latter the capital of the valley, fell into the hands of the Saracens; and Jerusalem, after a siege of four months, surrendered to the followers of the prophet (A.D. 637).† The Jews demanded that the

* Mod. Khiva, see p. 205.

† This account of the conquest of Syria cannot be accepted. The fall of Damascus was certainly the result of the battle of the Yermuk. The order of events was as follows, according to the probable arrangement of

articles of security should be ratified by the authority and presence of Omar himself, and the caliph came in person to receive the capitulation of the city. By his command the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepared for the foundation of a mosque; and, during a residence of ten days, he regulated the present and future state of his Syrian conquests.

In the life of Heraclius, the glories of the Persian war are clouded on either hand by the disgrace and weakness of his more early and his later days. In the hour of adversity his superstition was agitated by the omens and dreams of a falling crown; and after bidding an eternal farewell to Syria, he secretly embarked with a few attendants and absolved the faith of his subjects (A.D. 638).* Antioch was taken and degraded by the caliphs to the secondary rank of a provincial town; Cæsarea surrendered; the remainder of the province no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs 700 years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings [A.D. 638].

III. Conquest of Egypt.

§ 4. III. *Conquest of Egypt* [A.D. 639-641].—From his camp in Palestine Amrou [Amr] had surprised or anticipated the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt. After a siege of thirty days he took possession of Farmah or Pelusium; and then advanced against Memphis, situated on the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the south of the Delta. The banks of the Nile were united by two bridges of sixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle stream by the small island of Rouda. The eastern extremity of the bridge was terminated by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the passage of the river and the second capital of Egypt. This important fortress, which might fairly be described as a part of Memphis or *Misr*, was taken by Amrou after a siege of some months. The spot was afterwards recommended to the conqueror by the easy communication with the gulf and the peninsula of Arabia; the remains of Memphis were deserted; and the tents of the Arabs were converted into permanent

Sir W. Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 99 ff. (who improves on Weil's reconstruction):—

A.D. 634,	Sept.	Battle on the Yermuk.
		Advance on Damascus.
	Dec.	Damascus invested.
,, 635,	Summer	Storm and capitulation of Damascus.
	Nov.	Battle of Kādisīya.
,, 636,	Spring	Capture of Emesa and Antioch, and reduction of North Syria.
		Heraclius retires.
		Battle of Ajnādain.
	Summer	Madāyn besieged.
	End	Capitulation of Jerusalem.
(,, 637,	March	Madāyn captured.
	Dec.	Jalūla taken.)

* A.D. 636, according to Muir's re-arrangement.

habitations. A new city arose in their camp on the eastward bank of the Nile; and the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat* are confounded in their present decay by the appellation of Old Misr, or Cairo, of which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, "the town of victory," more strictly belongs to the modern capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite caliphs.†

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, must have retreated to the desert, had they not found a powerful alliance in the heart of the country. The persecution of the Coptic Christians or Jacobites by the emperors of Constantinople had converted a sect into a nation and alienated Egypt from the religion and government of Constantinople. The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Jacobite church; and a secret and effectual treaty was opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious army and a people of slaves. The Copts agreed to pay a stipulated tribute, and swore allegiance to the caliph. In the march from Memphis to Alexandria the lieutenant of Omar entrusted his safety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians; the roads and bridges were diligently repaired; and in every step of his progress he could depend on a constant supply of provisions and intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could scarcely equal a tenth of the natives, were overwhelmed by the universal defection; they had ever been hated, they were no longer feared; the magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop from his altar; and the distant garrisons were surprised or starved by the surrounding multitudes.

The siege of Alexandria by the Saracens was perhaps their most arduous and important enterprise. The first trading city in the world was abundantly replenished with the means of subsistence and defence. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the dearest of human rights, religion and property; and the enmity of the natives seemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The sea was continually open; and if Heraclius had been awake to the public distress, fresh armies of Romans and barbarians might have been poured into the harbour to save the second capital of the empire. The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attempt and the value of the prize. From the throne of Medina the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city: his voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria; and the merit of a holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. At length, after a siege of fourteen months, and the loss of 23,000 men, the Saracens prevailed; the Greeks embarked their dispirited and diminished numbers,

* Al-Fustāt = "the tent."

† See Lane-Poole, *Cairo*, p. 4 ff., and *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, pp. 8, 9, for these sites. The form "Cairo" arose from the Italian pronunciation of Al-Kāhira.

and the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt (A.D. 641). The intelligence of this disgraceful and calamitous event afflicted the declining health of the emperor; and Heraclius died of a dropsy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria.* Under the minority of his grandson the clamours of a people deprived of their daily sustenance compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the space of four years the harbour and fortifications of Alexandria were twice occupied by a fleet and army of Romans. But they were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou, who was recalled by the domestic peril from the distant wars of Tripoli and Nubia.

The Alexandrian library.

I should deceive the expectation of the reader, if I passed in silence the story of the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is described by some of the Arabic historians. The spirit of Amrou was more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leisure hours the Arabian chief was pleased with the conversation of John, the last disciple of Ammonius, who derived the surname of *Philoponus* from his laborious studies of grammar and philosophy. Emboldened by this familiar intercourse, Philoponus presumed to solicit a gift, inestimable in *his* opinion, contemptible in that of the barbarians—the royal library, which alone, among the spoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated by the visit and the seal of the conqueror. Amrou was inclined to gratify the wish of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of the caliph; and the well-known answer of Omar was inspired by the ignorance of a fanatic. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved: if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the 4000 baths of the city; and such was their incredible multitude that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel. For my own part, I am strongly tempted to deny the fact. I shall not recapitulate the disasters of the Alexandrian library, the involuntary flame that was kindled by Cæsar in his own defence, or the mischievous bigotry of the Christians who studied to destroy the monuments of idolatry. But, if we gradually descend from the age of the Antonines to that of Theodosius, we shall learn from a chain of contemporary witnesses that the royal palace and the temple of Serapis no longer contained the 400,000 or 700,000 volumes which had been assembled by the curiosity and magnificence of the Ptolemies.†

* Heraclius died on Feb. 10; Alexandria capitulated on Oct. 17. On the chronology of the conquest of Egypt, see E. W. Brooks in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1895, p. 435 ff.

† Gibbon rightly rejected the story, which appears only in very late authorities. The silence of early writers, and especially of the one con-

IV. Conquest of Africa.

§ 5. IV. *The conquest of Africa* (A.D. 647–709).—The conquest of Africa was first entrusted to Abdallah, the foster-brother of the caliph Othman, who had lately supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt (A.D. 647); but though he gained some signal victories in a campaign of fifteen months, the Saracens did not obtain a firm footing till the reign of the caliph Moawiyah, who established the house of Ommiyah [Omayya]. His first lieutenant acquired a just renown; but the title of conqueror of Africa is more justly due to his successor Akbah [Okba]. He penetrated as far as the Atlantic, and founded the city of Cairoan [Kairawān] to curb the levity of the barbarians and to serve as a place of refuge against the accidents of war (A.D. 670–675). The further conquest of Africa was interrupted by the civil discord of the Arabian monarchy. In the interval, the interior provinces had been alternately won and lost by the Saracens. But the sea-coast still remained in the hands of the Greeks; and it was not till the reign of the caliph Abd-al-malek, that the Greeks were expelled from Africa (A.D. 692–698). Carthage was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido and Cæsar lay desolate above 200 years, till a part of the old circumference was repeopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the second capital of the West was represented by a mosque, a college without students, twenty-five or thirty shops, and the huts of 500 peasants. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles V. had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta.*

Gold dīnār of the Omayyad Caliph Abd-al-Malik (from the British Museum).—Obverse: (1) Area: "*There is no deity but God alone; He hath no companion.*" (2) Margin: "*Muhammad is the apostle of God, whom He hath sent with the direction and the religion of truth, that he should exalt it over every religion.*" Reverse: (1) Area: "*God is one, God is eternal; He hath not begotten, and He hath not been begotten.*" (2) Margin: "*In the name of God, this dīnār was struck in the year [of the Hejira] 77.*"

After the expulsion of the Greeks, the Moors or Berbers in the interior provinces maintained a disorderly resistance to the religion and power of the successors of Mahomet. They were at length finally subdued by the activity of Musa (A.D. 709).

temporary historian of the conquest of Egypt (Joannes, Jacobite bishop of Nikiu), is conclusive. Moreover, John Philoponos was dead a century before the capture of Alexandria (cf. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Litt.*, 2nd ed. p. 53).

* On the conquest of Africa, cf. Diehl, *L'Afrique Byzantine* (1896), livre v.

Thirty thousand of the barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops; and the pious labours of Musa, to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accustomed the Africans to obey the apostle of God and the commander of the faithful. In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Bedouins of the desert. With the religion, they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa.

V. Conquest of Spain.

§ 6. V. *Conquest of Spain* (A.D. 711–713).—The Gothic kings of Spain had possession of the fortress of Ceuta, one of the Columns of Hercules, which is divided by a narrow strait from the opposite pillar or point of Europe. A small portion of Mauritania was still wanting to the African conquest; but Musa, in the pride of victory, was repulsed from the walls of Ceuta by the vigilance and courage of Count Julian, the general of the Goths.* From his disappointment and perplexity Musa was relieved by an unexpected message of the Christian chief, who offered his place, his person, and his sword to the successors of Mahomet, and solicited the disgraceful honour of introducing their arms into the heart of Spain. If we inquire into the cause of his treachery, the Spaniards will repeat the popular story of his daughter Cava; of a virgin who was seduced, or ravished, by her sovereign;† of a father who sacrificed his religion and country to the thirst of revenge. The passions of princes have often been licentious and destructive; but this well-known tale, romantic in itself, is indifferently supported by external evidence; and the history of Spain will suggest some motives of interest and policy more congenial to the breast of a veteran statesman. After the decease or deposition‡ of Witiza, his two sons were supplanted by the ambition of Roderic, a noble Goth, whose father, the duke or governor of a province, had fallen a victim to the preceding tyranny. It is probable that Julian was involved in the disgrace of the sons of the late monarch; that, too feeble to meet his sovereign in arms, he sought the aid of a foreign power; and his rash invitation of the Moors and Arabs produced the calamities of 800 years. In A.D. 711, 5000 veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier, who surpassed the expectation of his chief; and the necessary transports were provided by the industry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens

* Ceuta, together with other towns along the coast, belonged to the Eastern empire, and Count Julian was Imperial governor (probably *exarch*). But as Constantinople was at too great a distance to render him aid, he had entered into close relations with King Witiza of Spain (R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 711–1110, vol. ii. p. 31; and *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, p. 64 ff.).

† *I.e.* Roderic.

‡ He was deposed (and then apparently slain) by Roderic.

landed at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellation of Gibraltar (*Gebel-al-Tārik*) describes the mountain of Tarik; and the entrenchments of his camp were the first outline of those fortifications which, in the hands of our countrymen, resisted the art and power of the house of Bourbon. Roderic assembled an army formidable in numbers; and the battle which determined the fate of the kingdom was fought near the town of Xeres, in the neighbourhood of Cadiz. The Saracens were victorious; and the remains of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amidst the general disorder Roderic started from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses; but he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bætis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his courser were found on the bank; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus. The battle of Xeres was followed by the rapid conquest of Spain. Tarik marched without delay to the royal city of Toledo, which yielded to his arms upon obtaining a fair and reasonable capitulation. From Toledo, the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castile and Leon. Beyond the Asturian mountains, the maritime town of Gijon was the term of the lieutenant of Musa, who had performed, with the speed of a traveller, his victorious march, of 700 miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat; and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of his general. On the intelligence of this rapid success, the applause of Musa degenerated into envy; and in the following year (A.D. 712) he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain, at the head of 18,000 troops. Some enemies yet remained for his sword.* The tardy repentance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were successfully besieged and reduced by the labour of Musa, who transported his camp from the Bætis to the Anas, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana.

A province is assimilated to the victorious state by the

* After trying in vain to recall his lieutenant, he proceeded to make conquests on his own account, and, after reducing Seville, Merida (June, A.D. 713), etc., met Tārik at Toledo. After a reconciliation they divided their conquests, and all Spain was rapidly subdued; but presently Mūsā, who both in Africa and Spain almost usurped the part of caliph, and was guilty of peculation on a large scale, was recalled by Walīd to render an account, and he was accompanied by Tārik. The pathetic stories told of his disgrace and death are, however, legendary (Dozy, *Histoire*, vol. i. pp. 216, 217).

introduction of strangers and the imitative spirit of the natives; and Spain, which had been successfully tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the name and manners of the Arabs. Under their sway Spain became one of the most prosperous countries in Europe. The most powerful of the Ommiades [Omayyads] who reigned in Spain derived from the kingdom the annual tribute of twelve millions and forty-five thousand dinars, or pieces of gold, about six millions of sterling money; a sum which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs.

The empire of the caliphs (A.D. 718).

§ 7. At the end of the first century of the Hegira, the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogative was not circumscribed, either in right or in fact, by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of a senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority of the companions of Mahomet expired with their lives; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behind in the desert the spirit of equality and independence. The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the East, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and severity that were exercised at their own expense. Under the last of the Ommiades the Arabian empire extended two hundred days' journey from east to west, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. And if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is styled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan. We should vainly seek the indissoluble union and easy obedience that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines; but the progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were studied with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville: the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris.

Limits of the Arabian conquests.

§ 8. When the Arabs first issued from the desert they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own success. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees, when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their scimitars and the energy of their faith, they might be equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary

should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable danger. The greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mahometan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the loss of their fairest provinces, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy. In this inquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and delayed the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defence of the Christians, and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

First siege of Constantinople by the Arabs (A.D. 668).

§ 9. Forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople (A.D. 668).* The command of the expedition was entrusted by the caliph Moawiyah to Sophian,† a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons of fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who disgraced the name of Constantine and imitated only the inglorious years of his great-grandfather Heraclius. Without delay or opposition, the naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength and resources of Constantinople. The solid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and discipline; the spirit of the Romans was rekindled by the last danger of their religion and empire; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy attempts of plundering the European and Asiatic coasts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the sea from the month of April to that of September, on the approach of winter they retreated fourscore miles from the capital, to the isle of Cyzicus, in which they had established their magazine of spoil and provisions. So patient was their perseverance, or so languid were their operations, that they repeated in the six‡ following

* Theophanes' date A.D. 672-673 for the beginning of the expedition and A.D. 673-674 for the commencement of the siege is probably correct.

† The first general was Abd-ar-Rahmān, and after his death during the siege, Sophyān succeeded to the command.

‡ It is not probable that the siege lasted more than two or three years, although the peace was not actually *concluded* until (roughly) seven years

summers the same attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigour, till the mischances of shipwreck and disease, of the sword and of fire, compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise. The event of the siege cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. A truce of thirty years was ratified, and the stipulation of an annual tribute degraded the majesty of the commander of the faithful (A.D. 677–678).

Second siege of Constantinople (A.D. 717–718).

§ 10. The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken by the caliph Soliman [Sulaimān]. His brother Moslemah [Maslama], at the head of 120,000 Arabs and Persians, crossed over from Asia to Europe at the well-known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont. His huge fleet, consisting of 1800 ships, proceeded towards the mouth of the Bosporus; and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy the emperor Leo the Isaurian had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour;* the fire-ships of the Greeks were launched against them; the Arabs, their arms, and vessels were involved in the same flames; and the fleet that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name was entirely destroyed. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the caliph Soliman, who died in his camp near Kinnisrin or Chalcis in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy; and the siege was continued through the winter by the neglect, rather than by the resolution, of the caliph Omar. The winter proved uncommonly rigorous: above an hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of spring; a second effort had been made in their favour, and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and, if the destruction was less complete, it was owing to the experience which had taught the Moslems to remain at a safe distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo; and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire by the defeat and slaughter of 22,000 Asiatics. At length, after

had passed (cf. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. p. 310, notes 2 and 4).

* This was done after the first naval engagement.

a siege of thirteen months (A.D. 717-718), the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat. The march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont and through the provinces of Asia was executed without delay or molestation; but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains of the fleet were so repeatedly damaged by tempest and fire that only five galleys entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almost incredible disasters.*

Invention and use of the Greek fire.

§ 11. In the two sieges, the deliverance of Constantinople may be chiefly ascribed to the novelty, the terrors, and the real efficacy of the *Greek fire*. The important secret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor. The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succour of fleets and armies; and this discovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reserved for the distressful period when the degenerate Romans of the East were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigour of the Saracens. It would seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the *naphtha*, or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil, which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The naphtha was mingled, I know not by what method or in what proportions, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from evergreen firs. From this mixture, which produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress;† instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened by the element of water; and sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks the *liquid* or the *maritime* fire. For the annoyance of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the rampart in large boilers, or launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil; sometimes it was deposited in fireships, the victims and instruments of a more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on the prow of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire.‡ This important art was

* On the sieges of Constantinople, Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. bk. v. c. ix., and bk. vi. c. i. (the second siege also in Finlay, vol. ii. c. i.).

† Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, bk. xiii. c. iii.; and bk. xi. c. iv., etc.

‡ See Appendix on "Greek Fire."

preserved at Constantinople, as the palladium of the state; the galleys and *artillery* might occasionally be lent to the allies of Rome; but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. The secret was confined, above 400 years, to the Romans of the East; and at the end of the eleventh century, the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects, without understanding the composition, of the Greek fire. It was at length either discovered or stolen by the Mahometans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they retorted an invention, contrived against themselves, on the heads of the Christians. The use of the Greek or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen fire was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the scientific or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal effected a new revolution in the art of war and the history of mankind.

Invasion of France by the Saracens: their defeat by Charles Martel (A.D. 732).

§ 12. Constantinople and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of Europe; but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain. In the course of several campaigns (A.D. 718, *seqq.*) the Saracens subdued the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, which assumed the manners and religion of Arabia. But these narrow limits were scorned by the spirit of Abd-al-rahman, or Abderame,* who had been restored by the caliph Hashem [Hishām] to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe; and prepared to execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. Eudes, the intrepid duke of Aquitain, who had withstood the former invasions of the Saracens, sustained a defeat, so fatal to the Christians that, according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain: his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Besançon. A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools

* The *l* of the Arabic article (*al*) is assimilated in pronunciation to a following *d*, *n*, *r*, *s*; thus Abd-al-Rahmān is pronounced Abd-ar-Rahmân, whence the corruption Abderame.

of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.

From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin, was content with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks; but he deserved to become the father of a line of kings. In a laborious administration of twenty-four years he restored and supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior who in the same campaign could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhone, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger he was summoned by the voice of his country; and as soon as he had collected his forces he sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abderame appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the history of the world (A.D. 732). In the six first days of desultory combat the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage; but in the closer onset of the seventh day the Orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and *iron* hands, asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of *Martel*, the *hammer*, which had been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes: the valour of Eudes was excited by emulation; and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true Peers and Paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other: the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each *emir* consulted his safety by an hasty and separate retreat. The victory of the Franks was complete and final; Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes; and the Arabs were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.

Fall of the Ommiades [Omayyads]: elevation of the Abbassides [Abbāsids] (A.D. 750).

§ 13. The loss of an army, or a province, in the Western world was less painful to the court of Damascus than the rise and progress of a domestic competitor. Except among the Syrians, the caliphs of the house of Ommiyah had never been the objects of the public favour. The life of Mahomet recorded their perseverance in idolatry and rebellion: their conversion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious, and their throne was cemented with the most holy and noble blood of Arabia. The eyes and wishes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem and the kindred of the apostle of God. Of these the Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous; but the descendants of Abbas cherished, with courage and

discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes. From an obscure residence in Syria, they secretly despatched their agents and missionaries, who preached in the Eastern provinces their hereditary indefeasible right; and Abu Moslem, the author, as he is named, of the *call* of the Abbassides, took up arms in their cause and expelled the governor of Chorasan from the city and palace of Merv. In the visible separation of parties, the *green* was consecrated to the Fatimites; the Ommiades were distinguished by the *white;* and the *black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abbassides.* From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and the black factions; but the Abbassides were most frequently victorious. Mervan II., the fourteenth and last of the house of Ommiyah, sustained an irretrievable defeat on the Zab, and was slain in Egypt, where the remains of the white faction were finally vanquished (A.D. 750). The merciless inquisition of the conqueror eradicated the most distant branches of the hostile race: their bones were scattered, their memory was accursed, and the martyrdom of Hossein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. By the event of the civil war the dynasty of the Abbassides was firmly established; and Abdallah, surnamed Al Saffah ("the Sanguinary"), was acknowledged as the successor of the prophet.

Revolt of Spain (A.D. 755): triple division of the caliphate.

§ 14. This revolution tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens. In the proscription of the Ommiades, a royal youth of the name of Abd-al-rahman alone escaped the rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of Mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and cause of the Abbassides had been first vindicated by the Persians; the West had been pure from civil arms; and the servants of the abdicated family still held, by a precarious tenure, the inheritance of their lands and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, they invited Abd-al-rahman to ascend the throne of his ancestors; and, in his desperate condition, the extremes of rashness and prudence were almost the same. The acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the coast of Andalusia (A.D. 755); and, after a successful struggle, Abd-al-rahman established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Ommiades of Spain, who reigned above 250 years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees. Instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was dissevered from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hostility with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the Christian sovereigns of Constantinople and

* The date of the adoption of black as the Abbāsid colour is uncertain; perhaps it was taken as a sign of mourning after the murder by Merwān II. of the Abbāsid pretender Ibrāhīm, brother of Abdallāh, whose emissary Abū Moslim was.

France. The example of the Ommiades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edrissites [Idrīsids]* of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt.† In the tenth century the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Cairoan, and Cordova,‡ excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.

§ 15. Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem, yet the Abbassides were never tempted to reside either in the birth-place or the city of the prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood, of the Ommiades; and after some hesitation, Almansor [Al-Mansūr], the brother and successor of Al Saffah, laid the foundations of Bagdad, the Imperial seat of his posterity during a reign of 500 years (A.D. 762). The chosen spot is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about fifteen miles above the ruins of Madain; the double wall was of a circular form; and in this "city of peace," amidst the riches of the East, the Abbassides soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings.§ In the West the Ommiades of Spain supported with equal pomp the title of commander of the faithful. But the luxury of the caliphs relaxed the nerves, and terminated the progress, of the Arabian empire. Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of the first successors of Mahomet; and after supplying themselves with the necessaries of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to that salutary work. The Abbassides were impoverished by the multitude of their wants and their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great object of ambition, their leisure, their affections, the powers of their mind, were diverted by pomp and pleasure; the rewards of valour were embezzled by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph. Their stern enthusiasm was softened by time and prosperity: they sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuits of literature, and happiness in the tranquillity of domestic life. War was no longer the passion of the Saracens; and the increase of pay, the repetition of donatives, were insufficient to allure the posterity of those voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abu-beker and Omar for the hopes of spoil and of paradise.

Magnificence of the caliphs (A.D. 750-960).

* Cf. § 23 below.

† The Fātimids, who claimed to be descendants of Ali, through his wife Fatima, daughter of Mohammed, succeeded the Aghlabids (see § 23), and reigned in Africa (A.D. 909-1171), and in Egypt after A.D. 969.

‡ The rulers of Spain called themselves *Emirs* until A.D. 929, when the title Caliph was assumed (Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 20).

§ On Baghdād, G. Le Strange in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, 1895, pp. 1 ff. and 255 ff., where a plan of the city circa A.D. 900 is given.

Introduction of learning among the Arabians.

§ 16. Under the reign of the Ommiades the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almansor, who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almamon [Al-Mamūn],* the seventh of the Abbassides, he completed the designs of his grandfather, and invited the Muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science: at his command they were translated by the most skilful interpreters into the Arabic language; and his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings. The zeal and curiosity of Almamon were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas: their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Ommiades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful; the same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The age of Arabian learning continued about 500 years, till the great eruption of the Mongols, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals; but since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the Oriental studies have languished and declined.

Their real progress in the sciences.

§ 17. In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic. The sages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the East, which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen. The Arabians adopted the philosophy of the Stagirite, which was restored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same state by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves. They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy: the costly instruments of

* A.D. 813-833.

observation were supplied by the caliph Almamon,* and the land of the Chaldæans still afforded the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinjar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at 24,000 miles the entire circumference of our globe. From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grand-children of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the astronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system. In the Eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology. But in the science of medicine the Arabians have been deservedly applauded.† The names of Mesua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters; in the city of Bagdad 860 physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession; in Spain, the life of the Catholic princes was entrusted to the skill of the Saracens, and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of their healing art.‡ The *science* of chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of the Saracens. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analysed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alcalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health: the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchymy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.§

§ 18. In the bloody conflict of the Ommiades and Abbassides the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mahdi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who seized, in his turn, the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of 95,000 Persians and Arabs was sent

Wars of Harun al Rashid against the Romans (A.D. 781–806).

* He erected two observatories, one at Baghdad and one at Damascus.

† Yet their medicine was borrowed from the Greeks, and they made no advance of any importance in the science (except, perhaps, in medical botany).

‡ On the school of Salerno, see p. 15. It did not owe anything to Arabia.

§ "Chemistry, considered as an exact science, continued unknown to the Moslems; yet they cultivated Alchemy with eagerness in their search after the transmutation of metals, and Alchemy is the mother of Chemistry" (Guyard in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *s.v.* Mohammedanism, p. 596).

from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosporus, under the command of Harun, or Aaron, the second son of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of their sovereign, her ministers subscribed an ignominious peace; and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of 70,000 dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman empire. Five years after this expedition, Harun ascended the throne of his father and his elder brother; the most powerful and vigorous monarch

Gold coin of the Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al Rashīd (from the British Museum). Obverse: (1) Area: "*There is no deity but God alone; He hath no companion.*" (2) Margin: "*Muhammad is the apostle of God, whom He hath sent with the direction and the religion of truth, that he should exalt it over every religion.*" Reverse: (1) Area: "*Muhammad is the apostle of God. Mūsī.* (2) Margin: "*In the name of God, this dinār was struck in the year* [*of the Hejira*] 171."

of his race, illustrious in the West as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His title to the name of *Al Rashid* (the *Just**) is sullied by the extirpation of the generous, perhaps the innocent, Barmecides; yet he could listen to the complaint of a poor widow who had been pillaged by his troops, and who dared, in a passage of the Koran, to threaten the inattentive despot with the judgment of God and posterity. His court was adorned with luxury and science; but, in a reign of twenty-three years (A.D. 786-809), Harun repeatedly visited his provinces from Chorasan to Egypt; nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans; and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission.

The Arabs subdue Crete (A.D. 823) and Sicily (A.D. 827-878).

§ 19. Under the reign of Almamon, the son of Harun, at Bagdad, of Michael the Stammerer at Constantinople, the islands of Crete and Sicily were subdued by the Arabs. The former was conquered by a band of Andalusian volunteers (A.D. 823); and the name of Khandak, their fortress and colony, has been extended to the whole island, under the corrupt and modern appellation of *Candia*.† Sicily was attacked by the

* Or "orthodox."

† Crete was recovered by the Greeks (§ 25) in A.D. 960 (see M. Schlumberger, *Nicéphore Phocas*, c. ii.).

Saracens of Africa (A.D. 827); the largest and western part of the island was gradually reduced, and the commodious harbour of Palermo was chosen for the seat of the naval and military power of the Saracens. Syracuse preserved about fifty years the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Cæsar; and in the last and fatal siege her citizens displayed some remnant of the spirit which had formerly resisted the powers of Athens and Carthage (A.D. 878). Throughout Sicily the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated; and such was the docility of the rising generation that fifteen thousand boys were circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis; 150 towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæsars and apostles. Had the Mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the West; and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory inroads.

Invasion of Rome by the Saracens (A.D. 846): victory and reign of Leo IV. (A.D. 849).

§ 20. In the sufferings of prostrate Italy the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the mouth of the Tiber and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was revered as the metropolis of the Christian world (A.D. 846). The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way. The Christian *idols* were stripped of their costly offerings; a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter; and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, of the Saracens. The same danger still impended on the heads of the Roman people; distress appeared to receive some aggravation from the death of their spiritual and temporal chief; but the pressing emergency superseded the forms and intrigues of an election; and the unanimous choice of Pope Leo IV. was the safety of the church and city. This pontiff was born a Roman; the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his breast; and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum. After a short absence the African Saracens again cast anchor before the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the city; and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a transient inroad, but a serious design of conquest and dominion (A.D. 849). But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gaëta, Naples, and Amalfi; and, in the hour of danger, their galleys appeared in the port of Ostia under the command of

Cæsarius, the son of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. In the naval engagement which ensued, victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The Christians were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while the Africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of an hostile shore. Those who escaped from shipwreck and hunger neither found nor deserved mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was more usefully employed to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The reign of Leo IV. was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman state. The nations of the West and North who visited the threshold of the apostles had gradually formed the large and populous suburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were distinguished, in the language of the times, as the *schools* of the Greeks and Goths, of the Lombards and Saxons. But this venerable spot was still open to sacrilegious insult: it was enclosed with walls and towers by the pope, who bestowed upon it the name of the *Leonine city* (A.D. 852).*

Disorders of the Turkish guards (A.D. 841–870, etc.).

§ 21. With Motassem [Mutasim], the eighth of the Abbassides, the glory of his family and nation expired. When the Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over the East, and were mingled with the servile crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the freeborn and martial virtues of the desert. The courage of the South is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in those climates of the North, of which valour is the hardy and spontaneous production. Of the Turks who dwelt beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robust youths, either taken in war or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field and the profession of the Mahometan faith. The Turkish guards stood in arms round the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Motassem, the first author of this dangerous example, introduced into the capital above 50,000 Turks: their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the quarrels of the soldiers and people induced the caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence and the camp of his barbarian favourites at Samara on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the city of Peace.† His son Motawakkel [Mutawakkil] was a

* For the invasion of Rome, Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Eng. trans., vol. iii. p. 87 ff.; for the *Civitas Leonina*, p. 94 ff.

† Samarrā was the capital from A.D. 836 to 892 (Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 36).

jealous and cruel tyrant : odious to his subjects, he cast himself on the fidelity of the strangers, and these strangers, ambitious and apprehensive, were tempted by the rich promise of a revolution. At the instigation, or at least in the cause, of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne (A.D. 861). To this throne, yet streaming with a father's blood, Montasser [Muntasir] was triumphantly led ; but in a reign of six months he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. After this act of treason, the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking staff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four years created, deposed, and murdered three commanders of the faithful. At length, however, the fury of the tempest was spent or diverted ; the Abbassides returned to the less turbulent residence of Bagdad ; the insolence of the Turks was curbed with a firmer and more skilful hand, and their numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare. But the nations of the East had been taught to trample on the successors of the prophet ; and the blessings of domestic peace were obtained by the relaxation of strength and discipline. So uniform are the mischiefs of military despotism that I seem to repeat the story of the Prætorians of Rome.

§ 22. While the flame of enthusiasm was damped by the business, the pleasure, and the knowledge of the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the breasts of the chosen few, the congenial spirits, who were ambitious of reigning either in this world or in the next. In the 277th year of the Hegira and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an Arabian preacher of the name of Çarmath assumed the office of a new prophet. In his mystic volume the precepts of the Koran were refined to a more spiritual sense :* he relaxed the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage ; allowed the indiscriminate use of wine and forbidden food ; and nourished the fervour of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. His apostles dispersed themselves among the Bedouins ; and the success of their preaching seemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. After a bloody conflict they prevailed in the province of Bahrein, along the Persian Gulf ; far and wide the tribes of the desert were subject to the sceptre, or rather to the sword, of Abu Said and his son Abu Taher ; and these rebellious imams could muster in the field 107,000 fanatics. The mercenaries of the caliph were discomfited in every action ; the cities of Racca and Baalbec, of Cufa and Bassora, were taken and pillaged ; Bagdad was filled with consternation ; and

Rise and progress of the Carmathians (A.D. 890–951).

* The Carmathians (Karāmita) were a branch of the Ismailians, who were Shiites, but incorporated Neo-Platonic doctrines in their creed (cf. c. xxxvi. § 5; Guyard, *op. cit.*, p. 593 f. ; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. ii. pp. 493 ff. and 503, 504). The founder of the sect was an Ismailian, Hamdān, surnamed Karmat.

the caliph trembled behind the veils of his palace.* The rapine of the Carmathians was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of Mecca: they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and 20,000 devout Moslems were abandoned on the burning sands to a death of hunger and thirst. Another year Abu Taher stormed the holy city of Mecca, and trampled on the most venerable relics of the Mahometan faith, bearing away in triumph the black stone of the Caaba, the first monument of the nation (A.D. 929). Their scruples or their avarice again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca and restored the black stone; and it is needless to inquire into what factions they were broken, or by whose swords they were finally extirpated. The sect of the Carmathians may be considered as the second visible cause of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.

Revolt of the provinces: the independent dynasties.

§ 23. The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. The analogy of despotism invests the representative with the full majesty of the prince; and the viceroys of the caliphs gradually assumed the pride and attributes of royalty. After the revolt of Spain from the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbassides, the first symptoms of disobedience broke forth in the province of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, the lieutenant of the vigilant and rigid Harun, bequeathed to the dynasty of the *Aglabites* the inheritance of his name and power [A.D. 800–909]. The indolence or policy of the caliphs dissembled the injury and loss, and pursued only with poison the founder of the *Edrisites* [Idrīsids, A.D. 788–985], who erected the kingdom and city of Fez on the shores of the Western ocean. In the East the first dynasty was that of the *Taherites* [Tahīrids] (A.D. 820–872), who reigned in Chorasan till the fourth generation. They were supplanted by the *Soffarides* [Saffārids] (A.D. 872–903), who derived their name from the trade of their founder, a brazier. They were in their turn overthrown by the powerful dynasty of the *Samanids* (A.D. 874–999), who passed the Oxus with 10,000 horse, at the invitation of the Abbassides. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered by their Turkish slaves of the race of *Toulun* (A.D. 868–905) and *Ikshid* (A.D. 935–969). In the decline of their empire, Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Mosul and Aleppo, was occupied by the Arabian princes of the tribe of *Hamadan* (A.D. 892–1001).† At the same fatal period the Persian kingdom was usurped by the dynasty of the *Bowides* [Buwaïhids] (A.D. 932–1055), by the sword of three brothers, who, under various names, were styled the support and columns of the state, and who, from the Caspian sea to the ocean, would suffer no tyrants but themselves. Under their reign the language and genius of Persia revived, and the Arabs, 304 years after the death of Mahomet, were deprived of the sceptre of the East.‡

* A.D. 924.

† The Hamdānid dynasty ruled in Mosul A.D. 929–991, and in Aleppo from A.D. 944–1003.

‡ On all these dynasties, see Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties.*

§ 24. Rahdi, the twentieth of the Abbassides, and the thirty-ninth of the successors of Mahomet, was the last who deserved the title of commander of the faithful. After him, the lords of the Eastern world were reduced to the most abject misery, and exposed to the blows and insults of a servile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumscribed their dominions within the walls of Bagdad; the African and the Turkish guards drew their swords against each other, and the chief commanders, the emirs al Omra,* imprisoned or deposed their sovereigns and violated the sanctuary of the mosque and harem. If the caliphs escaped to the camp or court of any neighbouring prince, their deliverance was a change of servitude, till they were prompted by despair to invite the Bowides, the sultans of Persia, who silenced the factions of Bagdad by their irresistible arms. The civil and military powers were assumed by Moezaldowlat [Muizz-al-dawla], the second of the three brothers, and a stipend of 60,000 pounds sterling was assigned by his generosity for the private expense of the commander of the faithful. But on the fortieth day the caliph was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, by the command of the stranger, and the rude hands of his Dilemites. His palace was pillaged, his eyes were put out, and the mean ambition of the Abbassides aspired to the vacant station of danger and disgrace. In the school of adversity the luxurious caliphs resumed the grave and abstemious virtues of the primitive times. Despoiled of their armour and silken robes, they fasted, they prayed, they studied the Koran and the tradition of the Sonnites; they performed, with zeal and knowledge, the functions of their ecclesiastical character. The respect of nations still waited on the successors of the apostle, the oracles of the law and conscience of the faithful; and the weakness or division of their tyrants sometimes restored the Abbassides to the sovereignty of Bagdad. But their misfortunes had been embittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or spurious progeny of Ali.† Arising from the extremity of Africa, these successful rivals extinguished, in Egypt and Syria, both the spiritual and temporal authority of the Abbassides; and the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

Fallen state of the caliphs of Bagdad (A.D. 936, etc.).

§ 25. In the declining age of the caliphs the hostile transactions of the Saracens and Greeks were confined to some inroads by sea and land, the fruits of their close vicinity and indelible hatred. But when the Eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and revenge. After the death of the younger Romanus, the fourth in lineal descent of the Basilian race, his widow Theophano successively married Nicephorus Phocas and his

The Eastern conquests of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces (A.D. 963–975).

* The office of *Emīr-al-umarā* ("Emir of the Emirs"), corresponding to the Frankish Mayor of the Palace, first appears about A.D. 928 (Weil, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 560, *note* 1). Monograph by C. Defrémery, *Mémoire sur les Emirs al-Omera* (1848).

† See § 14, *note*.

assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant sons; and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals (A.D. 963–975).* Nicephorus had previously, in the subordinate character of general of the East, reduced the island of Crete (A.D. 960), and extirpated the nest of pirates, who had long defied, with impunity, the majesty of the empire. When emperor, Nicephorus reduced Cilicia, invaded Syria, and recovered Antioch. His successor continued his conquests. Zimisces crossed the Euphrates, which since the days of Heraclius had been impervious, and almost invisible, to the Greeks; and the once famous cities of Samosata, Edessa, Martyropolis, Amida, and Nisibis, the ancient limit of the empire in the neighbourhood of the Tigris, yielded to his arms. The inhabitants of Bagdad trembled; but their apprehensions were relieved by the retreat of the Greeks; thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia; and the emperor, satiated with glory, and laden with Oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople. Yet the powers of the East had been bent, not broken, by this transient hurricane. After the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; and the Moslems again purified their temples, and overturned the idols of the saints and martyrs. Of these extensive conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the isle of Cyprus, was alone restored, a permanent and useful accession to the Roman empire.

[Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* (1846–1851), vols. i. and ii; Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall* (3rd ed., 1899); Stanislas Guyard, *Eastern Caliphate* in *Encyclopædia Britannica, s.v.* Mohammedanism; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties: Chronological and Genealogical Tables with Historical Introductions* (1894); Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Heft* vi. (1899); A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Khalifen* (1875–1877); Guyard, *op. cit.*, § 3, *Institutions and Civilization of Eastern Caliphate;* E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lane-Poole (1883). For Saracenic art and architecture: (i.) in general, E. S. Poole's Appendix F. (p. 331 ff.) to 5th ed. of E. W. Lane's *Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians* (1871); (ii.) in Egypt, Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens in Egypt* (1886); (iii.) in Spain, U. R. Burke, *A History of Spain from the Earliest Times to the Death of Ferdinand the Catholic* (1895), vol. ii. c. xxxvi. pp. 15–22 (where other works are referred to).]

* Schlumberger, *Nicéphore Phocas*, c. iii. ff.; and *L'Épopée Byzantine* (959–989).

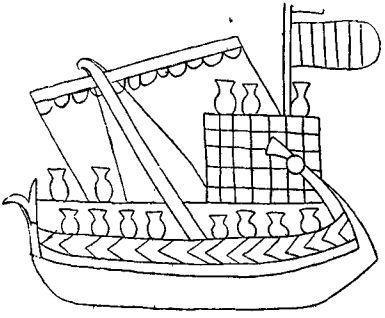
ARABIC EXPANSION
(MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE)
English Miles
Conquests under Mohammed
Conquests under the first four Caliphs
Furthest limits of the Saracen conquests
ANDALUS
SEA OF RUM
EASTERN EMPIRE
ARMENIA
Cyprus
Kurdistan
KIRMAN
MEKRAN
BAHRAIN
Yamama
Oman
YEMEN
SEA OF KOLZOM
SEA OF HIND

APPENDIX.

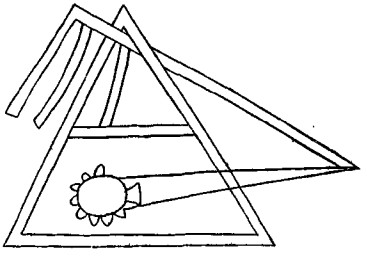
I. GREEK FIRE (§ 11).

"Greek fire," also called "marine" (θαλάσσιον) or "liquid" (ὑγρόν) fire, was clearly a generic term for a number of different preparations, some simply inflammable (like the mixtures of naphtha, pitch, etc.), others both inflammable and explosive. These compounds were launched against hostile ships in different ways.

(1) The most interesting is that mentioned last in the text. "The prepared fire," says Leo (*Tactica*, c. xix. § 51), "is propelled through tubes with thunder and fiery smoke, and burns the ships" (τὸ ἐσκευασμένον πῦρ μετὰ βροντῆς καὶ κάπνου προπύρου διὰ τῶν σιφώνων πεμπόμενον καὶ καπνίζον αὐτά). The combustible matter was projected with a loud explosion through flexible metal-covered tubes and, being ignited (by means of a fuse), blazed out in its rapid course and fell in a terrible mass of fire and smoke. It seems tolerably clear that this ordnance must have been similar in principle to the Congreve war-rocket (which was fired through a tube). It is quite certain that gunpowder was one form of the "Greek fire:" it is described by a writer of the ninth (possibly eighth) century,



Ship with fire-pots.



Engine for hurling fire-pots.

(Both from ancient Arabic MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, reproduced from *Nicéphore Phocas*, par G. Schlumberger, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1890.)

named Marcus Græcus,* whose tract is extant in a Latin translation, published by F. Hoefer, *Histoire de la Chimie* (2nd ed., 1869), p. 517 ff. Amongst various recipes for making "fires to burn the enemy" is one which (as Hoefer observes) makes gunpowder, viz. sulphur, charcoal, and saltpetre, mixed in different quantities and well pounded; and the instructions given as to the mode of using it must be taken in connection with the above description of the σίφων. A certain quantity of this powder is to be put into an envelope or case (*tunica*). If this case is intended for propulsion through the air (*volatilis*), it should be long, narrow, and filled with the powder; while if it be meant for explosion (*tonitrum faciens*, cf. βροντή above), it should be short, thick, and only half-filled. A small aperture is to be made in the envelope, and to it is attached a fuse, narrow at the

* Cf. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. p. 319.

extremities and broad in the middle, filled with powder. This *tunica volatilis* (*ad volandum*) is a rocket. If we imagine a shell of this nature, charged with explosive and inflammatory * substances, projected by gunpowder, ignited by a time-fuse,† and bursting and setting up a conflagration when it struck the enemy's ship, we perhaps get an approximately correct idea of the *siphon*-artillery. A wooden turret (κάστρον) was erected at the prow to protect the tube, which was worked by a gunner (σιφωνάτωρ). How near the Byzantines came to "producing a total revolution in the art of war" (below, p. 160)!

(2) The "fire," in a liquid or solid state, was also enclosed in pots (χύτραι, Leo, c. xix. § 56), which were hurled by engines of the *ballistæ* or *catapultæ* type. The combustible matter, ignited by a fuse, blazed out in its passage through the air and, shivering its receptacle to fragments, fell in a cloud of fire.

(3) Another method was that of the grenade. The explosive and inflammatory substances were enclosed in small hand-tubes (χειροσίφωνες, Leo, *ibid.*, § 57), or in small, thick-sided projectiles of glass or baked clay, and hurled by the hand after ignition of a fuse attached to a small orifice. The thick and compact fragments scattered by the bursting of the grenade must of themselves have done a great deal of damage. Arab grenades are still in existence.

Arab grenades (reproduced from Schlumberger's *Nicéphore Phocas*, p. 59).

(Leo, *Tactica*, c. xix.; Gfrœrer-Weiss, *Byzantinische Geschichten*, vol. ii. p. 422 f.; Schlumberger, *Nicéphore Phocas*, pp. 53–59.)

II. LIST OF THE CALIPHS TO A.D. 940.

1. *Orthodox Caliphs.*

Abū-Bakr	A.D. 632–634	Othman	A.D. 644–656
Omar	,, 634–644	Ali	,, 656–661

2. *Omayyad Caliphs.*

Moāwiya I.	A.D. 661–680	Omar	A.D. 717–720
Yazīd I.	,, 680–683	Yazīd II.	,, 720–724
Moāwiya II.	,, 683	Hishām	,, 724–743
Marwān I.	,, 683–685	Walīd II.	,, 743–744
Abd-al-Malik	,, 685–705	Yazīd III. / Ibrāhīm	,, 744
Walīd	,, 705–715	Marwān II.	,, 744–750
Sulaymān	,, 715–717		

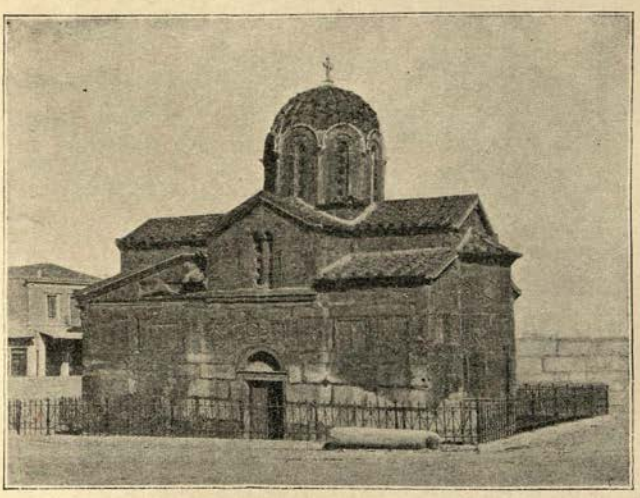
* The setting up of a conflagration was an essential quality. Another recipe for *ignis volatilis* is interesting in this connection: 1 part of *colophonium*, 1 of sulphur, and 2 of saltpetre are powdered and dissolved in oil of flax or *lanium*, and enclosed *in canna vel ligno excavo*. As soon as a light is applied, the cartridge "flies away to whatever point you wish, and will burn up everything."

† Perhaps made of tow soaked in inflammable substances.

3. *Abbāsid Caliphs.*

Al-Saffah	A.D. 750–754	Al-Muntasir	A.D. 861–862
Al-Mansūr	,, 754–775	Al-Mustaīn	,, 862–866
Al-Mahdī	,, 775–785	Al-Mutazz	,, 866–869
Al-Hādī	,, 785–786	Al-Muhtadī	,, 869–870
Al-Rashīd	,, 786–809	Al-Mutamid	,, 870–892
Al-Amīn	,, 809–813	Al-Mutadid	,, 892–902
Al-Mamūn	,, 813–833	Al-Muktafī	,, 902–908
Al-Mutasim	,, 833–842	Al-Muktadir	,, 908–932
Al-Wāthik	,, 842–847	Al-Kāhir	,, 932–934
Al-Mutawakkil	,, 847–861	Al-Rādī	,, 934–940

(From S. Lane-Poole's *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 9 f.)



South-east view of the Metropolitan Church at Athens.

Byzantine Horsemen.
(From the Psalter of Theodore of Cæsareia, A.D. 1066, in the British Museum.)

CHAPTER XXIX.

STATE OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THE TENTH CENTURY: THE PAULICIANS.

§ 1. Works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus: embassy of Liutprand. § 2. The themes or provinces of the empire. § 3. General wealth and populousness. § 4. Revenue of the Greek empire. § 5. Palace of Constantinople. § 6. Honours and titles of the Imperial family. § 7. Officers of the palace, the state, and the army. § 8. Ceremonies of the court. § 9. Despotic power of the emperor. § 10. Naval and military forces. § 11. Oblivion of the Latin language: the Greek empire retains the name of Roman. § 12. Period of ignorance: revival of Greek learning: decay of taste and genius. § 13. Origin of the PAULICIANS. § 14. The simplicity of their belief and worship. § 15. Persecution and revolt of the Paulicians (A.D. 815-880): their decline. § 16. Their transplantation from Armenia to Thrace. § 17. Their introduction into Italy and France. § 18. Persecution of the Albigeois (A.D. 1200, etc.).

Works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus: embassy of Liutprand.

§ 1. A RAY of historic light seems to beam from the darkness of the tenth century. We open with curiosity and respect the royal volumes of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which he composed at a mature age for the instruction of his son, and which promise to unfold the state of the Eastern empire, both in peace

and war, both at home and abroad. In the first of these works he minutely describes the pompous ceremonies of the church and palace of Constantinople, according to his own practice and that of his predecessors.* In the second he attempts an accurate survey of the provinces, the *themes*, as they were then denominated, both of Europe and Asia.† The system of Roman tactics, the discipline and order of the troops, and the military operations by land and sea, are explained in the third of these didactic collections, which may be ascribed to Constantine or his father Leo.‡ In the fourth, of the administration of the empire, he reveals the secrets of the Byzantine policy, in friendly or hostile intercourse with the nations of the earth.§ The ambassador of the great Otho, a bishop of Cremona, has painted the state of Constantinople about the middle of the tenth century: his style is glowing, his narrative lively, his observation keen; and even the prejudices and passions of Liutprand are stamped with an original character of freedom and genius.‖ From this scanty fund of foreign and domestic materials I shall investigate the form and substance of the Byzantine empire; the provinces and wealth, the civil government and military force, the character and literature, of the Greeks, in a period of 600 years, from the reign of Heraclius to the successful invasion of the Franks or Latins.

The themes or provinces of the empire.

§ 2. The provinces under the obedience of the emperors were cast into a new mould; and the jurisdiction of the presidents, the consulars, and the counts¶ was superseded by the institution of the *themes*, or military governments, which prevailed under the successors of Heraclius, and are described by the pen of the royal author. Of the twenty-nine themes, twelve in Europe and seventeen in Asia, the origin is obscure, the etymology doubtful, and the limits fluctuating.** The vanity of

* Usually called *De Cerimoniis aulæ Byzantinæ;* text in the Bonn *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ*. Very little of it is the work of Constantine himself (chiefly cc. i.–lxxxiii. and the second appendix to bk. i. p. 455 ff.); the rest is a compilation of work by different hands (Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byzantinischen Litteratur*, ed. 2, p. 254 ff.).

† Usually quoted as *De Thematibus* (written shortly after A.D. 934). Its value is impaired by the mixing up of facts of past history with the actual facts of the author's own time. Text in the Bonn *Corpus*.

‡ The *Tactica* ascribed to Constantine was not written by him, and is a mere repetition of the *Tactica* of Leo VI. The latter work, together with the *Strategikon* attributed to the emperor Maurice and the later *Strategikon* of Cecaumenos (ed. Vasilievski and Jernstedt), are of the utmost importance for Byzantine military history.

§ A most valuable work, usually quoted as *De administrando Imperio;* it was written for the instruction of his son Romanos, and probably published in A.D. 953. Text in Bonn *Corpus*.

‖ The text of the *Legatio Liutprandi* is published in the *Scrip. Rerum German.* series by E. Dümmler, and may also be found in Pertz's *Mon. Germ. Historica*, vol. iii.

¶ See vol. i. p. 161.

** See Appendix on the Themes.

the Greek princes most eagerly grasped the shadow of conquest and the memory of lost dominion. The appellation and prætor of Sicily were transferred to a narrow slip of Calabria; a fragment of the duchy of Beneventum was promoted to the style and title of the theme of Lombardy. In the eleventh century the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers, and almost all the Asiatic branches were dissevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to Peloponnesus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Mæander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece were obedient to their sceptre; the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete was accompanied by the fifty islands of the Ægean or Holy Sea;* and the remnant of their empire transcends the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms.

General wealth and populousness.

§ 3. The same princes might assert, with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Christendom they possessed the greatest city, the most ample revenue, the most flourishing and populous state. With the decline and fall of the empire the cities of the West had decayed and fallen; nor could the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden hovels, and narrow precincts of Paris and London, prepare the Latin stranger to contemplate the situation and extent of Constantinople, her stately palaces and churches, and the arts and luxury of an innumerable people. Her treasures might attract, but her virgin strength had repelled, and still promised to repel, the audacious invasion of the Persian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the Russian. The provinces were less fortunate and impregnable, and few districts, few cities, could be discovered which had not been violated by some fierce barbarian, impatient to despoil, because he was hopeless to possess. Yet the subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dexterous and diligent of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation; and, in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe. Even the tribes of barbarians who had seated themselves in arms on the territory of the empire were gradually reclaimed to the laws of the church and state; and, as long as they were separated from the Greeks, their posterity supplied a race of faithful and obedient soldiers.†

* "Ἅγιον πέλαγος, as it is styled by the modern Greeks, whence the corrupt name of Archipelago has been transformed by geographers and seamen," says Gibbon; but the etymology is not satisfactory.

† Among the barbarians who settled in the empire may be specially mentioned the Slavs, who formed a considerable part of the population of Greece, and especially of the Peloponnesus, in the tenth century. Their settlements began at the end of the sixth and increased enormously after the middle of the eighth century, when the peninsula was depopulated by a great plague. The Slavonic element became so marked in the Peloponnese that Constantine says of it, Ἐσθλαβώθη πᾶσα ἡ χώρα: but this is an

§ 4. The vague and scanty memorials of the times will not afford any just estimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the resources of the Greek empire. A Jewish traveller, who visited the East in the twelfth century, is lost in his admiration of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," says Benjamin of Tudela,* "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the Greek empire are annually deposited, and the lofty towers are filled with precious magazines of silk, purple, and gold. It is said that Constantinople pays each day to her sovereign 20,000 pieces of gold, which are levied on the shops, taverns, and markets, on the merchants of Persia and Egypt, of Russia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent the capital by sea and land." In all pecuniary matters the authority of a Jew is doubtless respectable; but as the 365 days would produce a yearly income exceeding 7,000,000 sterling, I am tempted to retrench at least the numerous festivals of the Greek calendar. The mass of treasure that was saved by Theodora and Basil II. will suggest a splendid, though indefinite, idea of their supplies and resources. The mother of Michael, before she retired to a cloister, had accumulated 109,000 pounds of gold and 300,000 of silver. The avarice of Basil is not less renowned than his valour and fortune: his victorious armies were paid and rewarded without breaking into the mass of 200,000 pounds of gold (about 8,000,000 sterling) which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace.

Revenue of the Greek empire.

§ 5. The great palace of the emperors was fixed during eleven centuries in the same position, between the hippodrome, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the gardens, which descended by many a terrace to the shores of the Propontis. A new building was erected by the emperor Theophilus after the model of a palace which the caliph of Bagdad had recently constructed on the banks of the Tigris.† It was accompanied with gardens and with five churches, one of which was conspicuous for size and beauty. The long series of the apartments was adapted to the seasons, and decorated with marble and porphyry, with painting, sculpture, and mosaics, with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. The fanciful magnificence of Theophilus employed the skill and patience of such artists as the times could afford; but the taste of Athens would have despised their frivolous and costly labours: a golden tree, with its leaves and branches, which sheltered a multitude of birds warbling their artificial notes, and two lions of massy gold, and of the natural size, who looked and roared like their brethren of the forest. The successors of Theophilus, of the Basilian and Comnenian dynasties, were not less ambitious of leaving some memorial of

Palace of Constantinople.

exaggeration, for there were few settlements in the eastern half. The Slavs soon became assimilated with the Greek inhabitants and lost their language, but the local names which they introduced survive to the present day.

* Translated and edited by A. Asher (1840).

† It was called Trikonchon, because it had three apses.

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their residence; and the portion of the palace most splendid and august was dignified with the title of the golden *triclinium.**

Honours and titles of the Imperial family.

§ 6. Above a thousand years, from Vespasian to Alexius Comnenus, the *Cæsar* was the second person, or at least the second degree, after the supreme title of *Augustus* was more freely communicated to the sons and brothers of the reigning monarch. To reward the piety of his brother Isaac, without giving himself an equal, the crafty Alexius interposed a new and supereminent dignity. The happy flexibility of the Greek tongue allowed him to compound the names of Augustus and Emperor (Sebastos and Autocrator), and the union produced the sonorous title of *Sebastocrator*. He was exalted above the Cæsar on the first step of the throne; and he was only distinguished from the sovereign by some peculiar ornaments of the head and feet.† Beside and below the Cæsar the fancy of Alexius created the *Panhypersebastos* and the *Protosebastos*, whose sound and signification will satisfy a Grecian ear. They imply a superiority and a priority above the simple name of Augustus; and this sacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinsmen and servants of the Byzantine court. The successors of Alexius imparted to their favourite sons or brothers the more lofty appellation of Lord or *Despot*, which was illustrated with new ornaments and prerogatives, and placed immediately after the person of the emperor himself. The five titles of, 1. *Despot;* 2. *Sebastocrator;* 3. *Cæsar;* 4. *Panhypersebastos;* and, 5. *Protosebastos;* were usually confined to the princes of his blood: they were the emanations of his majesty; but as they exercised no regular functions, their existence was useless, and their authority precarious.

Officers of the palace, the state, and the army.

§ 7. But in every monarchy the substantial powers of government must be divided and exercised by the ministers of the palace and treasury, the fleet and army. The titles alone can differ; and in the revolution of ages, the counts and præfects, the prætor and quæstor, insensibly descended, while their servants rose above their heads to the first honours of the state. 1. In a monarchy, which refers every object to the person of the prince, the care and ceremonies of the palace form the most respectable department. The *Curopalata*, so illustrious in the age of Justinian, was supplanted by the *Protovestiare*, whose primitive functions were limited to the custody of the wardrobe.‡

* *Chrysotriklinos.* It was built by Justin II. For works dealing with the topography of the palace, etc., see Bibliography.

† The emperor was distinguished by the crown and red shoes; the sebastocrator wore an open coronet and green shoes.

‡ The *Curopalates* had not disappeared: he was still a very high dignitary, one of the six who might be honoured with a place at the royal table (*De Cerim.*, Bk. ii. p. 726). The office was perhaps a sinecure, for its functions had passed to the *Great Papias*, who was assisted by *The Second* (ὁ δεύτερος). To this assistant belonged the custody of the wardrobe, not to the *Protovestiarios*, who was apparently a chamberlain entrusted with the care of valuables.

From thence his jurisdiction was extended over the numerous menials of pomp and luxury; and he presided with his silver wand at the public and private audience. 2. In the ancient system of Constantine, the name of *Logothete*, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances: the principal officers were distinguished as the Logothetes of the domain, of the posts, the army, the private and public treasure; and the *great Logothete*, the supreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the Latin monarchies.* His discerning eye pervaded the civil administration; and he was assisted, in due subordination, by the eparch or præfect of the city, the first secretary, and the keepers of the privy seal, the archives, and the red or purple ink which was reserved for the sacred signature of the emperor alone. The introductor and interpreter of foreign ambassadors were the great *Chiauss* † and the *Dragoman*, two names of Turkish origin, and which are still familiar to the Sublime Porte. 3. From the humble style and service of guards, the *Domestics* ‡ insensibly rose to the station of generals; the military themes of the East and West, the legions of Europe and Asia, were often divided, till the *great Domestic* was finally invested with the universal and absolute command of the land forces. 4. The naval powers were under the command of the *great Duke;* in his absence they obeyed the *great Drungaire* § of the fleet; and, in *his* place, the *Emir*, or *Admiral*, a name of Saracen extraction, but which has been naturalized in all the modern languages of Europe.

Ceremonies of the court.

§ 8. The most lofty titles and the most humble postures, which devotion has applied to the Supreme Being, have been prostituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of *adoration*, of falling prostrate on the ground and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Diocletian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy. When Liutprand, the ambassador of Otho, approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions Liutprand was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead.

* Λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ, *i.e.* of the public exchequer, as opposed to the emperor's private property (ἡ ἰδικὴ οὐσία). He took the place of the *Comes sacrarum largitionum* (vol. i. p. 165). Cf. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. p. 324.

† *Tchāwush*, Græcized as Τζαοὺς or Σιαούς.

‡ Cf. vol. i. p. 165.

§ Ὁ μέγας δρουγγάριος, probably created by Basil I., and afterwards called the Grand Duke. The navy consisted of two portions, the Imperial (βασιλικόν), a standing fleet after the time of Basil, with its chief station at Constantinople, and the Provincial (θεματικόν), composed of the contingents of the maritime Themes. The Great Drungarios was admiral of the former, and assumed the supreme command of the combined fleets.

He arose; but in the short interval the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the ceiling, the Imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence.

Despotic power of the emperor.

§ 9. The emperor possessed despotic power. The legislative and executive powers were centered in his person, and the last remains of the authority of the senate were finally eradicated by Leo the Philosopher. A lethargy of servitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks; in the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness. Superstition riveted their chains; in the church of St. Sophia he was solemnly crowned by the patriarch; at the foot of the altar they pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. The Greek ecclesiastics were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrate; at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with an ignominious death; and the patriarch of Constantinople condemned, what he secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother.

Naval and military forces.

§ 10. The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the service of the poorer nations, and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts and the annoyance of their enemies. The command of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Tanais to the Columns of Hercules, was always claimed, and often possessed, by the successors of Constantine. The *Dromones*, or light galleys of the Byzantine empire, were content with two tiers of oars; each tier was composed of twenty-five benches; and two rowers were seated on each bench, who plied their oars on either side of the vessel.* The principles of maritime tactics had not undergone any change since the time of Thucydides: a squadron of galleys still advanced in a crescent, charged to the front, and strove to impel their sharp beaks against the feeble sides of their antagonists. The language of signals was imperfectly expressed by the various positions and colours of a commanding flag, and at night the same orders were conveyed by the lights of the leading galley. The invention of the Greek fire did not, like that of gunpowder, produce a total revolution in the art of war.† To these liquid combustibles the city and empire of Constantine owed their deliverance; and they were employed in sieges and sea-fights with terrible effect. But they were either less improved, or less susceptible of improvement; the engines of antiquity, the *catapultæ*, *balistæ*, and battering-rams, were still of most frequent and powerful use in the attack and defence of fortifications; nor was the decision of battles reduced to the quick and heavy *fire* of a line of infantry, whom

* But there were two larger sizes of δρόμωνες, carrying crews of about 200 and 300 men. There were also swifter biremes of another build, called Pamphylian, which composed a large proportion of the fleet.

† See Appendix to ch. xxviii.

it were fruitless to protect with armour against a similar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction and safety; and the helmets, cuirasses, and shields of the tenth century did not, either in form or substance, essentially differ from those which had covered the companions of Alexander or Achilles. The *bands*, or regiments,

Byzantine Foot-soldiers.
(From the Psalter of Theodore of Cæsareia, A.D. 1066, in the British Museum.)

were usually 300 strong; and, as a medium between the extremes of four and sixteen, the foot soldiers were formed eight deep; but the cavalry charged in four ranks, from the reasonable consideration that the weight of the front could not be increased by any pressure of the hindmost horses. The order of battle must have varied according to the ground, the object, and the adversary; but their ordinary disposition was in two lines and a reserve.*

§ 11. The final revolt and separation of Italy was accomplished about two centuries after the conquests of Justinian, and from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his Institutes, his Code, and his Pandects in a language which he celebrates as the proper and public style of the Roman government, the consecrated idiom of the palace and senate of Constantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the East. But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces, it was imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws and the ministers of the state. After a short conflict, nature and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power: for the general benefit of his

Oblivion of the Latin language: the Greek empire retains the name of Roman.

* For works dealing with the navy and army, see Bibliography at the end of the chapter.

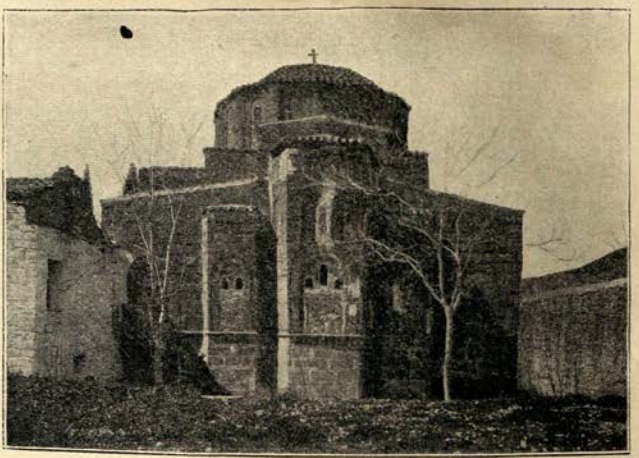
subjects Justinian promulgated his Novels in the two languages, the several parts of his voluminous jurisprudence were successively translated, the original was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom; the silent revolution was accomplished before the death of Heraclius, and the ruins of the Latin speech were darkly preserved in the terms of jurisprudence and the acclamations of the palace. After the restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne and the Othos, the names of Franks and Latins acquired an equal signification and extent; and these haughty barbarians asserted, with some justice, their superior claim to the language and dominion of Rome. They insulted the aliens of the East who had renounced the dress and idiom of Romans, and their reasonable practice will justify the frequent appellation of Greeks. But this contemptuous appellation was indignantly rejected by the prince and people to whom it is applied. Whatsoever changes had been introduced by the lapse of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken succession from Augustus and Constantine; and, in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of ROMANS adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople.

Period of ignorance: revival of Greek learning; decay of taste and genius.

§ 12. After the fall of Paganism, the loss of Syria and Egypt and the extinction of the schools of Alexandria and Athens, the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries and, above all, to the royal college of Constantinople. But the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of discord and darkness; in the reign of Leo the Isaurian the library was burnt, and the college was abolished; the Iconoclasts are represented as the foes of antiquity, and a savage ignorance and contempt of letters has disgraced the princes of the Heraclian and Isaurian dynasties. In the ninth century we trace the first dawnings of the restoration of science. The Cæsar Bardas, the uncle of Michael the Third, was the generous protector of letters. At the pressing entreaty of the Cæsar, his friend, the celebrated Photius, renounced the freedom of a secular and studious life, ascended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommunicated and absolved by the synods of the East and West. By the confession even of priestly hatred, no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar. Whilst he exercised the office of protospathaire, or captain of the guards,* Photius was sent ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad. The tedious hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were beguiled by the hasty composition of his *Library*, a living monument of erudition and criticism. Two hundred and fourscore writers, historians,† orators, philosophers, theologians, are reviewed

* Πρωτοσπαθαριος τῶν βασιλικῶν.

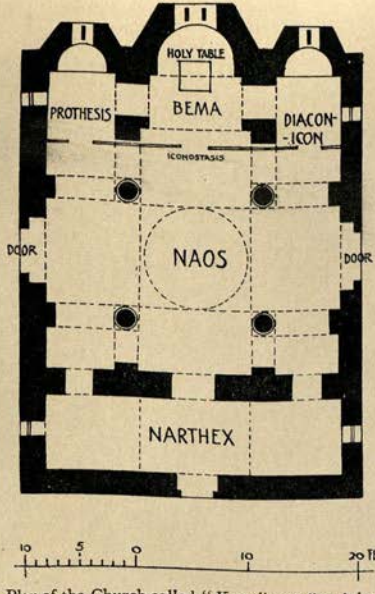
† His extracts from lost histories are valuable. Photius' *Bibliotheca* is to be found in Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vols. ciii., civ.



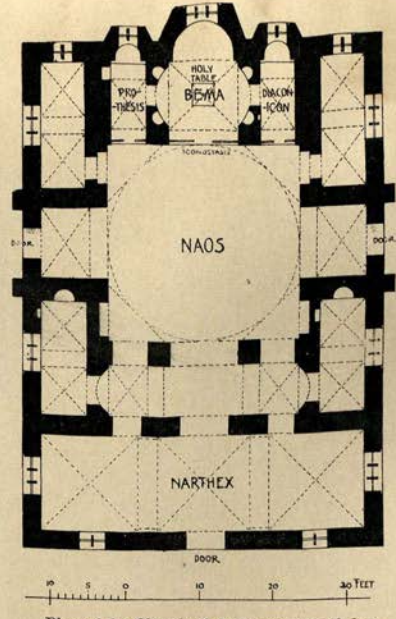
East view of the Church of the Monastery of the Assumption at Daphni, in Attica.

North-east view of the Church of the Saints Theodore at Athens.

TYPES OF BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE. (*See p. 172.*)



Plan of the Church called "Kapnikarea" at Athens.



Plan of the Church of the Monastery of the Assumption at Daphni, Attica.

TYPES OF BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE. (*See p.* 172.)

Between pp. 162, 163.

without any regular method; he abridges their narrative or doctrine, appreciates their style and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a discreet freedom which often breaks through the superstition of the times. The emperor Basil, who lamented the defects of his own education, entrusted to the care of Photius his son and successor Leo the Philosopher, and the reign of that prince and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus forms one of the most prosperous æras of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treasures of antiquity were deposited in the Imperial library; by their pens, or those of their associates, they were imparted in such extracts and abridgments as might amuse the curiosity, without oppressing the indolence, of the public. Besides the *Basilica*, or code of laws, the arts of husbandry and war, of feeding or destroying the human species, were propagated with equal diligence; and the history of Greece and Rome was digested into fifty-three heads or titles, of which two only (of embassies, and of virtues and vices) have escaped the injuries of time. I shall not expatiate on the works of the Byzantine Greeks, who, by the assiduous study of the ancients, have deserved, in some measure, the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The scholars of the present age may still enjoy the benefit of the philosophical commonplace-book of Stobæus, the grammatical and historic lexicon of Suidas, the Chiliads of Tzetzes, which comprise 600 narratives in 12,000 verses, and the commentaries on Homer of Eustathius archbishop of Thessalonica, who, from his horn of plenty, has poured the names and authorities of 400 writers. From these originals, and from the numerous tribe of scholiasts and critics, some estimate may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century. Constantinople was enlightened by the genius of Homer and Demosthenes, of Aristotle and Plato; and in the enjoyment or neglect of our present riches we must envy the generation that could still peruse the history of Theopompus, the orations of Hyperides,* the comedies of Menander, and the odes of Alcæus and Sappho. The frequent labour of illustration attests not only the existence but the popularity of the Grecian classics; the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empress Eudocia † and the princess Anna Comnena,‡ who cultivated, in the purple, the arts of rhetoric and philosophy. But the Greeks of Constantinople, while they read, praised, and compiled, seemed

* Several of his speeches have been discovered in recent years in Egyptian tombs.

† To Eudokia, wife of Constantine Dukas, used to be attributed a mythological-antiquarian compilation entitled Ἰωνιά (*Violarium*); but it is now proved to have been composed about A.D. 1543 by Constantinos Palæokappa (Krumbacher, *Byz. Litt.*, ed. 1, p. 275; ed. 2, p. 578 f.).

‡ Daughter of Alexius Comnenus, and wife of the prince and historian Nicephorus Bryennius. Her history, "The Alexiad" (ed. by Reifferscheid in Teubner series), covers the period A.D. 1069-1118.

alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation. The prose of the Byzantine writers is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry: their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyric muses were silent and inglorious: the bards of Constantinople seldom rose above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale; they forgot even the rules of prosody; and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of *political* or city verses.*

Origin of the PAULICIANS.

§ 13. The history of the PAULICIANS, whose exile scattered over the West the seeds of reformation, demands a few words. The obscure remnant of the Gnostics had been driven from the capitals of the East and West, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. The numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of Manichæans; and these heretics, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred.† Under the grandson of

* Political verse (*στίχος πολιτικός, i.e.* popular, common, as opposed to Quantitative verse, understood only by the learned) regards *accent* only. The "rules of prosody" had long disappeared from the spoken language. The most common form is the fifteen-syllable line ⏑ ‒ ⏑ ‒ ⏑ ‒ ⏑ ‖ ⏑ ‒ ⏑ ‒ ⏑ ‒ ⏑. One of the oldest examples is the spring song preserved by Constantine (*De Cerim.*, p. 367)—

> Ἰδέ, τὸ ἔαρ τὸ γλυκὺ πάλιν ἐπανατέλλει
> χαρὰν ἰγείαν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν,
> ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐκ θεοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων,
> καὶ νίκην θευδώρητον κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

This poetical form survives to the present day (Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 650 f.).

† Older views about the nature of Paulicianism are greatly modified by Mr. F. C. Conybeare's discovery of an ancient liturgy of the Paulicians of Thonrak in Armenia (the mountainous region north-east of Lake Van, south-west of Mount Ararat), entitled *The Key of Truth* (edited and translated with introduction, 1898). The book in its present form was put together not later than the ninth century, but the liturgical parts probably go back to the fourth. Hitherto the sect has only been known from the distorted reports of its enemies; now they can "plead for themselves," as Gibbon desired (*Decline and Fall*, c. liv. *init.*). Paulicianism now appears as a revival of the early Adoptionist phase of Christian doctrine, according to which Christ was merely human, though free from sin, until his baptism in his thirtieth year, when the Spirit of God came down and entered into him; thenceforth he became the Son of God. This doctrine gave way before the third- and fourth-century dogmatic development, which laid down the doctrine of the Incarnation (and, as a consequence, introduced infant baptism); but, never extinguished, it lived on in Armenia, in the upper valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, and revived as an active force in the eighth century, when the Iconoclastic movement afforded a stimulus.

Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samosata, a reformer arose, esteemed by the Paulicians as the chosen messenger of truth about A.D. 660. In his humble dwelling of Mananalis,* Constantine entertained a deacon who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the clergy. These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith; but he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul; and the name of the Paulicians is derived from the apostle of the Gentiles.† The founders of the sect agreed with their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for the Old Testament, the books of Moses and the prophets; but they sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichæans, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul and of Christ.‡

§ 14. The worship and the belief of the Paulicians were equally simple. They rejected the use of all images and relics; in the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, they were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the Gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful. They believed in the mystery of the Trinity; but instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the virgin like water through a pipe; with a fantastic crucifixion that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews.§ They likewise held the eternity of matter: a stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle, of an active being, who has created this visible world and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.‖

The simplicity of their belief and worship.

Paulicianism, therefore, is seen to be really a religious conservatism, not an innovation (see Mr. Conybeare's luminous *Introduction*).

* Mananali is the region about Kara-tchoban (south-east of Erzerum) on the Khinis tchai, one of the main arms of the Eastern Euphrates (Murad Tchai): Conybeare, p. lxix. It is the Greek sources that represent Constantine as the *founder* of the movement.

† "It is evident that the name had reference not to St. Paul, but to the last great champion of Adoptionist Christianity in the Greek world, Paul of Samosata. . . . Paul's followers were called *Pauliani*, . . . and *Pauliciani* is simply the Armenian form of *Pauliani*. The addition of *ic* is derisive, and with the addition of *ean* or *ian*, the word would mean 'son or follower of wretched little Paul'" (Conybeare, p. cv.). *Manichæan* may have the same history (*ibid.*).

‡ They did not reject the Old Testament (p. xxxvii.); and they were not Manichæans—a term of abuse under which the orthodox included all dissenters. There is nothing to show that their alleged dualism was anything more than that of the New Testament, "according to which (John xii. 31; xiv. 30) Satan is the ruler of this world, or even, as Paul expressed it (2 Cor. iv. 4), the God of this world" (see pp. xliv.–xlvi.).

§ The new evidence shows no trace of such *Docetism* (see pp. xxxix., cxciv.).

‖ See *note* ‡.

Persecution and revolt of the Paulicians (A.D. 845-880).

§ 15. The apostolic labours of Constantine-Sylvanus soon multiplied the number of his disciples. The remnant of the Gnostic sects, and especially the Manichæans of Armenia, were united under his standard; many Catholics were converted or seduced by his arguments; and he preached with success in the regions of Pontus and Cappadocia, which had long since imbibed the religion of Zoroaster. The new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates;* and six of their principal congregations represented the churches to which St. Paul had addressed his epistles. They were soon exposed to the persecution of the Roman government; and in a calamitous period of 150 years, their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict; and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In an holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse: the justice of their arms hardens them against the feelings of humanity; and they revenge their father's wrongs on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia and the Calvinists of France, and such, in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces. Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the East,† was provoked by the sanguinary persecution of Theodora to renounce the allegiance of anti-Christian Rome. A Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph; and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountains between Sivas and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephrice,‡ and the neighbouring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled the use of the Bible and the sword. During more than thirty years Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war; in their hostile inroads the disciples of St. Paul were joined with those of Mahomet; and the peaceful Christians, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. The valour and ambition of Chrysocheir, the successor of Carbeas, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful Moslems, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown; and the edicts of persecution were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus. At length Chrysocheir

Their decline.

* Only the Western Paulicians came into collision with Byzantine orthodoxy, and consequently they only are mentioned in the Greek writers.

† He was an officer (πρωτομανδάτωρ, chief of the couriers) on the staff of the general of the Anatolic Theme.

‡ Their first strongholds were further south (nearer Saracen territory). Cf. Anderson in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1897, p. 27 (and the map there published). Tephrikē is now called Devrik.

was surprised and slain; and with him the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, who had previously been compelled to retire from the impregnable Tephrice, now undertook a second expedition: the city was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders [A.D. 873]. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains; the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infested the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the Gospel.*

Their transplantation from Armenia to Thrace.

§ 16. About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics.† As a favour or punishment, he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe. If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians. In the tenth century they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony which John Zimisces transported from the Chalybian hills to the valleys of Mount Hæmus. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration; the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy.‡ As long as they were awed by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire; and the courage of these *dogs*, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and clergy. Alexius Comnenus wrested the important station of Philippopolis from their hands; and the contumacious leaders were secured

* Mr. Conybeare well says (*op. cit.*, p. lxxv.), "Paulicianism was the natural faith of the hardy mountaineers of the Taurus; and in destroying them, the blind fanaticism of Byzantium destroyed its only bulwark against Saracen [or rather, Mohammedan] invasion."

† Τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ αἱρετικούς, Cedrenus, ii. p. 10. It is practically certain that (as Theophanes actually says) Constantine was a Paulician; see above, ch. xxv. § 9, and Conybeare, *op. cit.*, pp. xlii., cxvi., cxxxvii.

‡ Hence the origin of the Bogomil sect, for which cf. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxvii. ff.; and Jireček, *Geschichte d. Bulgaren*, c. iv. It has not yet died out in the Balkan peninsula.

in a dungeon or banished from their country. But after the departure and death of Alexius they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars the filial congregations of Italy and France. From that æra a minute scrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the valleys of Mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government.* The modern Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin; and their religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary.

Their introduction into Italy and France.

§ 17. In the West the first teachers of the Manichæan theology had been repulsed by the people or suppressed by the prince. The favour and success of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be imputed to the strong, though secret, discontent which armed the most pious Christians against the church of Rome. The sectaries found their way into every part of Europe, and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps. It was soon discovered that many thousand Catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the Manichæan heresy; and the flames which consumed twelve canons of Orleans was the first act and signal of persecution. The Bulgarians, a name so innocent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles—the contempt of the Old Testament, and the denial of the body of Christ either on the cross or in the Eucharist.†

Persecution of the Albigeois (A.D. 1200, etc.).

§ 18. It was in the country of the Albigeois, in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone. The laws of the Eastern emperors were revived by Frederic the Second. The insurgents of Tephrice were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc: Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the Crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the

* They are mentioned as existing in Philippopolis in 1819.

† This may very likely be a misrepresentation by their enemies. The real character of their doctrines cannot be certainly ascertained until some of their books are found.

founders of the Inquisition—an office more adapted to confirm than to refute the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois,* were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul, who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliff in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

[A. Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec au Xme siècle* (1870); G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin* (1884), *Un Empereur Byzantin au Xe siècle Nicéph. Phocas* (1890), and *L'Epopée Byz. à la fin du Xe siècle* (1896); K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2nd ed., 1897). On the topography of palace, etc., J. Labarte, *Le Palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords* (1861); Paspátes, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται (1877; his later book, trans. by Metcalfe, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, is untrustworthy); Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (1892). An important work is that of A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: the Walls of the City and adjoining Historical Sites* (1899). For the navy, Gfrörer-Weiss, *Byzant. Geschichten* (1874), ii. p. 401 ff.; De la Gravière, *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1884), pp. 130–158; Schlumberger, *Nicéph. Phocas*, p. 52 ff.; C. Neumann in *Histor. Zeitschrift*, bd. xlv. p. 1 ff. (1898). For the army, note on § 1 (above); Appendix to c. xxv.; Von Lingenthal in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vols. ii. and iii.; Oman, *History of Art of War*, vol. ii. bk. iv. cc. i.–iv. For commerce, W. Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (1879), also in French trans. (with additions) by Raynaud (1885). For Byzantine art (general), C. Bayet, *L'art Byzantin* (1883); F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. der christlichen Kunst* (1896); Ch. Diehl, *L'art Byzantin et son influence sur les arts en Occident* (1894). For numismatics (general), J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (1862).]

APPENDIX.

I. THE SYSTEM OF THEMES (§ 2).

As is stated in the text, the old division of the empire into dioceses and provinces (see vol. i. p. 160 f.) had given way before the tenth century to a new division into *Themes*. Each of these was governed by a *strategos*, who united in his own hands both military and civil powers. The title of the governor and the name of the new provinces (θέμα = "regiment") are

* So called from the town of Albi. Their ritual, which is preserved in a MS. in the Library of Lyon, is translated by Mr. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, Appendix VI.; for its relations to Paulician doctrines, p. cxli. ff.

sufficient to prove their military origin. But though we find the system fully developed in the tenth century, its institution dates from the second half of the seventh. This period was a dark hour for the empire. On all sides its very existence was threatened by barbarian invaders, Saracens, Moors, Lombards, and Slavs (see note on § 3): by their attacks the provinces were disorganized and government was dislocated, and in order to oppose an effective resistance to these assaults, it was necessary to recur to the old principle of centralization and form large governmental districts under military commandants, who gradually absorbed the functions of the civil officials. In the seventh century the following was the list of governments* (not as yet named Themes, but for the most part called after the troops cantoned in them):—

1.	The Anatolics (*i.e.* the south-east of Asia Minor, viz. most of Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, Isauria, Cappadocia II., and parts of Lycia and Pamphylia)	Instituted before	A.D. 669
2.	The Armeniacs (all the rest of North-east Asia Minor, extending along the Black Sea as far as the western borders of Paphlagonia)	,,	,, 665
3.	The Opsikion, or Imperial Guard, had been stationed in Galatia and in towns of Bithynia, Mysia, and North Phrygia; and these provinces were afterwards grouped together to form the government of Opsikion	,,	,, 687
4.	The marines, or naval forces (*τῶν πλωϊζομένων*), consisting of the Ægæan islands and the coasts of Asia Minor from the Troad to Cilicia	,,	,, 688
5.	Thrace	,,	,, 687
6.	The Helladics (Peloponnese, Greece, Thessaly, and remnants of Illyricum scattered along the Adriatic coast)	,,	,, 695
7.	Sicily	,,	,, 654(?)
8 and 9.	The Exarchates of Italy and Africa ...	,,	towards end of sixth century.

Two points have to be specially noticed about the new system. (1) Its relation to the old. It did not make a clean sweep of the previous arrangements. The basis of the new system was the already existing military divisions (cf. vol. i. pp. 162, 163), and the new districts correspond precisely to the old military governments. Thus the *strategos* of the Anatolics replaced the *magister militum per Orientem* (although his sphere of jurisdiction had been curtailed by the loss of Egypt, Syria, and the south-east of Asia Minor); the *strategos* of the Armeniacs replaced Justinian's *mag. mil. per Armeniam;* the count of the Opsikion represented the *mag. mil. præsentalis* (vol. i. p. 163, *note*); the province of the Marines probably represented Justinian's province, Caria, Cyprus, Rhodes, the Cyclades, etc., united under the administration of a quæstor (Diehl, p. 58); the *strategos* of Thrace superseded the *mag. mil. per Thraciam;* that of the Helladics the *mag. mil. per Illyricum;* while the Exarchs of Italy and Africa were simply the old *mag. mil.* with extended powers (cf. above, p. 6, *note*).

(2) The transformation was a gradual one: it was not accomplished at a single stroke. The earliest names for these divisions are not geographical, but refer to the bodies of troops quartered in them, *e.g. theme of the*

* After Ch. Diehl, *L'origine du régime des Thèmes*, who improves on Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. p. 345.

Anatolics, of the Armeniacs, etc. Moreover, as Diehl points out, the word *theme* is hardly used before the eighth century; the common expression is *army* (στρατός, *exercitus*), *e.g.* στρατὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν. Then στρατὸς is replaced by χώρα, the name of the army corps passes to the district defended by it, and θέμα acquires a geographical sense, *the Anatolic theme, Armeniac theme*, and so on.

During the following centuries several changes took place. Some of these districts were altogether lost to invaders, *e.g.* Africa and Sicily, or in great part lost, *e.g.* Italy. Further, some districts, especially on or near the frontiers, which were of great importance in the system of defence, were made independent themes, *e.g.* the theme of Sebasteia; and there was an increasing tendency to split up the large districts into smaller divisions, for the emperors feared (and with good reason, as the sequel showed) the concentration of too much power in the hands of one governor (cf. Gibbon's remarks on Constantine's "divided administration," vol. i. p. 163, and Appendix to c. xxv.). Thus the Armeniac theme was reduced by the creation of the Themes of Chaldia, Charsian, Sebasteia, Coloneia, and Paphlagonia; the Anatolic by the creation of the Cappadocian, Thrakesian, etc.; the Opsikion by the formation of the Optimaton and Boucellarian; the "Marines" was divided into the Cibyrrheot, Samian, and Ægæan Sea, and so on. Again, the conquests of the ninth and tenth centuries necessitated the formation of new themes, like that of Lycandos, Mesopotamia, etc. Thus about the middle of the tenth century we find as many as thirty themes,* viz. (1) Anatolic, (2) Thrakesian, (3) Cappadocian; (4) Opsikion, (5) Optimaton, (6) Boucellarioi; (7) Armeniac, (8) Paphlagonian, (9) Charsian, (10) Sebasteia, (11) Coloneia, (12) Chaldia; (13) Lycandos, (14) Mesopotamia; (15) Cibyrrhæot,† (16) Seleuceia, (17) Samos, (18) Ægæan Sea; (19) Thrace, (20) Macedonia, (21) Strymon, (22) Thessalonica; (23) Hellas, (24) Peloponnesus, (25) Nicopolis, (26) Cephallenia, (27) Dyrrhachium; (28) Langobardia (or Lagoubardia) and (29) Calabria;‡ (30) Cherson (in the Crimean peninsula—practically only the town itself, which was, however, of great importance for negotiations with the Barbarians on the north).

Most of these names are geographical and need no explanation. *Anatolics, Armeniacs* = the army corps of the East, of Armenia. *Thrakesians* = Thracian regiments drafted to Asia Minor for the Eastern wars, and permanently established in the country. *Opsikion* (*Obsequium*) = the guard which "precedes the emperor to maintain order and do him honour" (Constantine, *de Thematibus*, p. 24). *Boucellarioi* are defined at the beginning of the fifth century as a body of troops composed of Romans and barbarian auxiliaries; ancient etymologies derive the word from *bucellātum* (*bucella*), "soldiers' bread," but a derivation from *bucula* seems more probable. *Optimatoi* (*Optimates*) was the title of the Gothic chiefs in Radagaisus' army, οὓς κατατολεμήσας (Stilicho) προσηταιρίσατο; in some such way they probably originated in the East; possibly Stilicho's captives were even settled in North-west Asia Minor (Bury, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 344, *note* 1).

The boundaries of the Themes (in the tenth century) are approximately indicated in the map, but they are often very uncertain; the evidence is exceedingly scanty.

[Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec*, p. 175 ff.; Bury, *History of the Later Roman*

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* In the list of Constantine (*De Thematibus*) Sicily and Cyprus are mentioned, but they no longer belonged to the empire. Earlier lists (belonging to the beginning of the tenth century and to the time of Romanus I.) are given in *De Cerimoniis*, c. lii. and c. l.

† Such is the form used in the lists, but Cibyræot (adj. from Cibyra) is more correct.

‡ Langobardia and Calabria were united in one theme in the eleventh century.

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2. The Armeniacs (all the rest of North-east Asia Minor, extending along the Black Sea as far as the western borders of Paphlagonia)	,, ,,	665
3. The Opsikion, or Imperial Guard, had been stationed in Galatia and in towns of Bithynia, Mysia, and North Phrygia; and these provinces were afterwards grouped together to form the government of Opsikion	,, ,,	687
4. The marines, or naval forces (τῶν πλωϊζομένων), consisting of the Ægæan islands and the coasts of Asia Minor from the Troad to Cilicia	,, ,,	688
5. Thrace	,, ,,	687
6. The Helladics (Peloponnese, Greece, Thessaly, and remnants of Illyricum scattered along the Adriatic coast)	,, ,,	695
7. Sicily	,, ,,	654(?)
8 and 9. The Exarchates of Italy and Africa ...	,, towards end of sixth century.	

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‡ Langobardia and Calabria were united in one theme in the eleventh century.

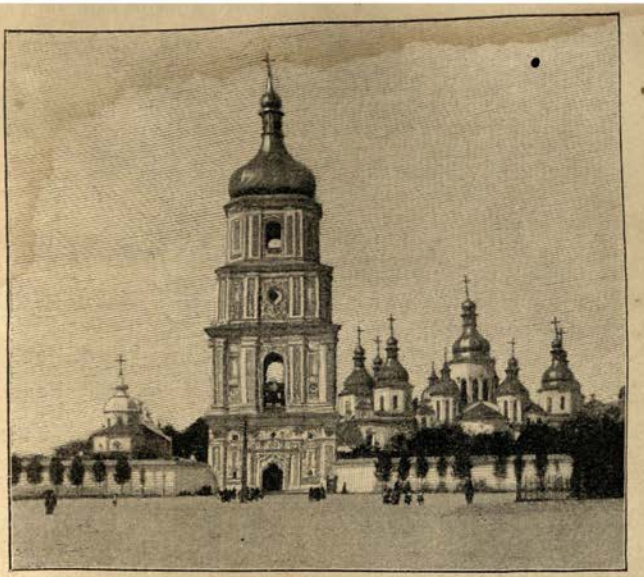
Empire, vol. ii. p. 339 ff.; Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, *sub vocc.*, especially pp. 17, 18, 151, 210–212, 216–217, 248–250, 315–317, 321, 423; Schlumberger, *Sigillographie Byzantine* (seals of the various officials); Ch. Diehl's lucid sketch, *L'origine du régime des Thèmes* in *Études d'histoire du moyen âge, déd. à G. Monod* (ed. Lavisse), 1896, pp. 47–60. To these must now be added an important contribution by Prof. H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis d. Byzant. Themen-verfassung*, in vol. xviii. of "Abhandlungen d. Sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften" (1899).]

II. NOTE ON BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE (pp. 162–163).

Ordinary Byzantine churches are of two distinctive types. Both are of oblong form, with one or three apses projecting at the east end; but the internal subdivision of the plan varies in each case, and is influenced by the nature of the dome, according as it is broad and low or narrower and higher. Churches of both types were constructed simultaneously, but the former is generally recognized as the earlier model. These differences can easily be followed in the plans of the two examples (belonging to the eleventh century) given between pp. 162–163.

The churches are divided into three distinct parts: (1) the Narthex, or porch—the place of the catechumens; (2) the Naos, or church proper; and (3) the Bema and Parabemata. The Narthex is divided from the Naos by a wall pierced by three doors, and the Naos is separated by the Iconostasis from the Bema and the Parabemata. The iconostasis does not, as might appear at first sight, take the place of the Western rood-screen, but is more akin to the altar-rail. It is now usually covered with sacred pictures (whence its name), but formerly it was open, or had only movable veils or curtains. There is no choir, as in Western churches; the singers stand outside the iconostasis. In the Bema stands the Holy Table. Of the Parabemata, that to the north is the Prothesis, where the sacred elements are kept and prepared, while that to the south is the Diaconicon —the place of the Deacons—where the pictures of saints, etc., are stored, to be taken out and put up in a prominent position in the church on their respective days in order to receive the reverence of the laity. One step divides the Narthex from the Naos, and another separates the Naos from the Bema and Parabemata. These churches are usually arched and vaulted, and the lines of the internal subdivisions are emphasized externally by differences in the levels of the roofs.

THE EAST-ROMAN (BYZANTINE) EMPIRE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE TENTH CENTURY



The Church of St. Sophia at Kiev, built (by Greek masons) in the reign of Yaroslav.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BULGARIANS, HUNGARIANS, AND RUSSIANS.

§ 1. Division of the subject. § 2. Emigrations and conquests of the Bulgarians. § 3. Emigrations of the Hungarians: their Finnic origin: their manners. § 4. Their conquests (A.D. 896, etc.). § 5. Origin of the Russian monarchy. § 6. The Varangians of Constantinople. § 7. The two capitals and trade of Russia. § 8. Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople: the first (A.D. 860): the second (A.D. 907): the third (A.D. 941): the fourth (A.D. 1043). § 9. Reign of Sviatoslav (A.D. 945–972): his defeat by John Zimisces. § 10. Conversion of Russia. § 11. Christianity of the North (A.D. 800–1100).

Division of the subject.

§ 1. UNDER the reign of Constantine, the great-grandson of Heraclius, the ancient barrier of the Danube, so often violated and so often restored, was irretrievably swept away by a new deluge of barbarians. Their progress was favoured by the caliphs, their unknown and accidental auxiliaries: the Roman legions were occupied in Asia; and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa,

the Cæsars were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracens. The history of the barbarians, who, between the seventh and the twelfth century, descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient inroad or perpetual emigration, is related under the heads of—I. *Bulgarians*, II. *Hungarians*, and, III. *Russians*. The conquests of the, IV. NORMANS, and the monarchy of the, V. TURKS, will naturally terminate in the memorable Crusades to the Holy Land and the double fall of the city and empire of Constantine.

Emigrations and conquests of the Bulgarians.

§ 2. I. In his march to Italy, Theodoric the Ostrogoth had trampled on the arms of the BULGARIANS. After this defeat, the nation is lost in obscurity until the end of the sixth century, when it appears again as subject to the empire of the Avars. The Byzantine historians narrate that a king of the ancient Bulgaria bequeathed to his five sons a last lesson of moderation and counsel. It was received as youth has ever received the counsels of age and experience: the five princes divided their father's subjects and cattle, forgot his advice, separated from each other, and wandered in quest of fortune, till we find the most adventurous in the heart of Italy.* But the main stream of emigration was directed towards the capital. About A.D. 680. they crossed the Danube, and the modern Bulgaria was stamped with the name and image which it has retained to the present hour. The Slavonian tribes which dwelt along the southern bank of the river were easily subdued, but their language prevailed and the conqueror forgot his own tongue.† The Bulgarians successively acquired, by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus'; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus or Achrida (*Ochrida*) was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch. Among the Slavonian tribes (Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, etc.) who had overspread the land from the Euxine to the Adriatic, the Chrobatians, or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, founded a powerful kingdom in

* The story was an attempt to explain the existence of the five Bulgarian settlements which are found in Europe towards the end of the seventh century, viz. (1) in Italy, (2) along both banks of the Danube—these are mentioned in the text—(3) in Pannonia (after the fall of the Avar empire), (4) between the Dnieper and the Don, their older seat, and (5) the kindred tribe of Kotrigurs, east of the Don. For the latter, cf. vol. i. p. 365, *note* (the Uturgurs were now absorbed in the Danube kingdom). A still more northerly settlement is found in the tenth century in the corner between the Volga and the Kama, called Black Bulgaria (Constantine, *De adm. Imp.*, c. xii.). An old Bulgarian list of the early kings is given by Jireček, *Gesch. der Bulgaren*, p. 127.

† In Gibbon's text (which is here considerably modified) the Bulgarians are regarded as of Slavonic race, because Bulgarian is now a Slavonic language. But it is quite clear that they were Tartars, or, more strictly, of Turkish race—akin to the Huns or actually Huns; and that they became Slavized and adopted the language of their subjects, as the Russian conquering aristocracy did. Some writers (Roesler, Hunfalvy, etc.) have argued for a Finnish descent, but without much success.

Dalmatia (A.D. 900, etc.). This kingdom was shared by eleven *Zoupans*, or feudatory lords; and their united forces were numbered at 60,000 horse and 100,000 foot. A long sea-coast, indented with capacious harbours, covered with a string of islands, and almost in sight of the Italian shores, disposed both the natives and strangers to the practice of navigation. The Croats became dangerous pirates; and it was not before the close of the tenth century that the freedom and sovereignty of the Gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian republic.

The glory of the Bulgarians was confined to the ninth and tenth centuries. They slew in battle the emperor Nicephorus, who had invaded their country (A.D. 811);* and his skull, enchased with gold, was often replenished in the feasts of victory. This savage cup was deeply tinctured with the manners of the Scythian wilderness, but the Bulgarians were softened before the end of the same century by a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, the possession of a cultivated region, and the introduction of the Christian worship. The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople, and Simeon, a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. During his reign of thirty-four years [A.D. 893–927], Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth.† He defeated the Greeks, formed the siege of Constantinople, and, in a personal conference with the emperor, imposed the conditions of peace. After the death of Simeon the nations were again in arms; his feeble successors were divided and extinguished; and, in the beginning of the eleventh century, the second Basil, who was born in the purple, deserved the appellation of conqueror of the Bulgarians [*Bulgaroktonos*]. The Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province; and the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.‡

Emigrations of the Hungarians.

§ 3. II. When the black swarm of HUNGARIANS first hung over Europe, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world. Since the introduction of letters, they have explored their own antiquities with a strong and laudable impulse of patriotic curiosity, and their rational criticism can no longer be amused with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns. *Magyar* is the national and Oriental denomination of the Hungarians; but, among the tribes of Scythia, they are distinguished by the Greeks§ under the proper and peculiar name

* Their king at this time was Krum.

† Simeon was the first prince who took the title of Tsar (*Tsesar*, i.e. Cæsar).

‡ For these wars, Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. ii.; the first war also in the recent work of M. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine*, p. 585 ff.

§ Especially Constantine, *De adm. Imp.* cc. xxxvii.–xl.; one writer (George Monachus, p. 818, ed. Bonn), however, gives them the name of Οὖγγροι.

of *Turks*. From their primitive country beyond the Ural mountains they were driven to the West by the tide of war and emigration, and their course was directed towards the frontiers of the Roman empire. In their long peregrination, the purity of their blood was improved or sullied by the mixture of a foreign race; several tribes * of the Khazars were associated to the standard of their ancient vassals, and introduced the use of a second language. Their public counsels were directed by seven *voivods* or chiefs; but experience recommended the more vigorous administration of a single person, and the sceptre was granted to the birth or merit of Arpad.

Their Finnic origin.

The Hungarian language bears a close and clear affinity to the idioms of the Finnic race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Asia and Europe. The *Ugri* are found on the banks of the Irtish; a similar language is detected in the southern parts of Siberia; and the remains of the Finnic tribes are widely scattered from the sources of the Oby to the shores of Lapland.† The consanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders displays the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent; the lively contrast between the bold adventurers who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immersed beneath the snows of the polar circle.

Their manners.

The Hungarians were a nomadic race, but they were indebted to fishing as well as to the chase for a part of their subsistence. Their tents were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair and scarified their faces; and, except the merit and fame of military prowess, all that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to these barbarians, whose native fierceness was stimulated by the consciousness of numbers and freedom. In the abuse of victory they astonished Europe, yet smarting from the wounds of the Saracen and the Dane; mercy they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed; both sexes were accused as equally inaccessible to pity; and their appetite for raw flesh might countenance the popular tale that they drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain.

Their conquests [A.D. 896, etc.].

§ 4. After many wanderings, the Hungarians approached the common limits of the French and Byzantine empires.‡ Their

* One at least, the Kabars (Constantine, *op. cit.*, c. xxxix.); the Hungarians had dwelt three years in the Khazar empire "in Lebedia, near Khazaria, helping the Khazars in all their wars" (c. xxxviii.). This district derived its name from Lebedias, their "first" *voivod* (βοέβοδος): the title shows Slavonic influence, and was perhaps not adopted till after the exodus from this temporary home, which probably lay between the Don and the Dnieper.

† Gibbon adds the note, "Of all the Finnic dialects the Vogulian is the nearest to the Hungarian," which accords with recent research. The name *Hungarian, Ungarn*, is derived from Ugrian or Ungrian, and there can be no doubt that the Hungarians once lived in Ugria about the river Irtish, near the Voguls and Ostiaks. But whether they are an Ugro-Finnic race has been much disputed (see Appendix).

‡ About A.D. 840 they were forced by the pressure of the Patzinaks to

first conquests and final settlements extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary [A.D. 896]. That ample and fertile land was loosely occupied by the Moravians, a Slavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the invaders into the compass of a narrow province. The Hungarians extended their ravages over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; nor could any distance be secure against an enemy who, almost at the same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall, and the city of Bremen on the shores of the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Germanic empire, or kingdom, was subject to the ignominy of tribute. They invaded France and Italy; burned the royal city of Pavia to the ground (A.D. 924); and in their annual excursions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches that yet escaped resounded with a fearful litany: "Oh! save and deliver us from the arrows of the Hungarians!" But the saints were deaf or inexorable; and the torrent rolled forwards, till it was stopped by the extreme land of Calabria. A composition was offered and accepted for the head of each Italian subject, and ten bushels of silver were poured forth in the Hungarian camp. On the side of the East the Hungarians were opposed in doubtful conflict by the equal arms of the Bulgarians, whose faith forbade an alliance with the pagans, and whose situation formed the barrier of the Byzantine empire. The barrier was overturned; the emperor of Constantinople beheld the waving banners of the Hungarians; and one of their boldest warriors presumed to strike a battle-axe into the golden gate (A.D. 924). The arts and treasures of the Greeks diverted the assault; but the Hungarians might boast, on their retreat, that they had imposed a tribute on the spirit of Bulgaria and the majesty of the Cæsars. At this disastrous æra of the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe was afflicted by a triple scourge from the North, the East, and the South: the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Saracen sometimes trod the same ground of desolation; and these savage foes might have been compared by Homer to the two lions growling over the carcase of a mangled stag.

The deliverance of Germany and Christendom was achieved by the Saxon princes Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, who, in two memorable battles, for ever broke the power of the Hungarians (A.D. 933 and 955). Adversity suggested the counsels of moderation and peace: the robbers of the West acquiesced in

cross the Dnieper and find a new home between that river and the Danube. From this district, which they called Atel-kuzu, they were again expelled by the same foes (who themselves fled before the Kumani or Uzi) after a sojourn of fifty years, and pressed westward into Hungary, about A.D. 896. It was after their migration to Atel-kuzu that the kingship was instituted at the instance of the Khazar Khan, who had some sort of suzerainty over them as well as over the other neighbouring tribes.

a sedentary life; and the next generation was taught, by a discerning prince, that far more might be gained by multiplying and exchanging the produce of a fruitful soil. The native race, the Turkish or Finnic blood, was mingled with new colonies of Scythian or Slavonian origin;* many thousands of robust and industrious captives had been imported from all the countries of Europe; and, after the marriage of Geisa with a Bavarian princess, he bestowed honours and estates on the nobles of Germany. The son of Geisa was invested with the regal title, and the house of Arpad reigned 300 years in the kingdom of Hungary. But the freeborn barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of the diadem, and the people asserted their indefeasible right of choosing, deposing, and punishing the hereditary servant of the state.

Origin of the Russian monarchy.

§ 5. III. The name of RUSSIANS was first divulged, in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or *czar*, of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople they had traversed many hostile nations, and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin: they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France; and it might justly be apprehended that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace but the emissaries of war. They were detained while the Greeks were dismissed; and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence according to the interest of both empires. The Scandinavian origin of the princes of Russia may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals† and the general history of the North. The Normans, who had so long been concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkness, suddenly burst forth in the spirit of naval and military enterprise. The vast and, as it is said, the populous regions of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were crowded with independent chieftains and desperate adventurers. Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they ascended their vessels and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the first scene of their naval achievements; they visited the

* Gibbon distinguishes among these colonies, (1) Kabars (see above), (2) Iazyges, Moravians, etc. (already in the land), (3) Russians, (4) Bulgarians (A.D. 956), (5) Patzinaks, Kumans (the last colony of whom was received in A.D. 1239).

† The most important of these annals is the Chronicle traditionally attributed to Nestor, a monk of Kiev, who lived in the latter part of the eleventh century. The author was a monk of Kiev, but not Nestor, as is proved by the contradictions between his other writings and the Chronicle (Leger, *Chronique dite de Nestor*, Introd. p. viii. ff.).

eastern shores, the silent residence of Finnic and Slavonian tribes; and the primitive Russians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians*.* Their superiority in arms, discipline, and renown commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. In their wars against the more inland savages, the Varangians condescended to serve as friends and auxiliaries, and gradually, by choice or conquest, obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect. Their tyranny was expelled, their valour was again recalled, till at length Ruric,† a Scandinavian chief (A.D. 862), became the father of a dynasty which reigned above 700 years.

The Varangians of Constantinople.

§ 6. As long as the descendants of Ruric were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Varangians and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast. But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, they mingled with the Slavonic inhabitants in blood, religion, and language, and the first Vladimir had the merit of delivering his country from these foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne; his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands; but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy, master; that they should embark for Greece, where, instead of the skins of squirrels, silk and gold would be the recompense of their service. At the same time the Russian prince admonished his Byzantine ally to disperse and employ, to recompense and restrain, these impetuous children of the North. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character of the *Varangians:* each day they rose in confidence and esteem; the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from the island of Thule. On this occasion the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England; and the new Varangians were a colony of English and Danes who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage and piracy had approximated the countries of the earth; these exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court; and they preserved, till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty and the use of the Danish or English tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians.‡

* We should rather say "whom they saluted with the title of *Rūs*, and in later times came to call *Varangians*" (see Appendix 2). *Varangian* originally meant Scandinavian.

† Rurik is the old Norse Hraerekr and the same as Roderick.

‡ At Constantinople *Varangian* was at first used in its original meaning

The two capitals and trade of Russia.

§ 7. Amidst the darkness of early Russian history we can discern two principal states, one in the north of the country, of which Novgorod * was the capital, and the other in the south on the Dnieper, of which Kiev was the chief town. The rule of the Varangian conquerors was at first confined to the northern state; but their power gradually increased, and Kiev was annexed to their dominions.† From an early period the two capitals were the centre of an important trade. From the neighbourhood of Novgorod the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Borysthenes; their canoes, of a single tree, were laden with slaves of every age, furs of every species, the spoil of their beehives, and the hides of their cattle; and the whole produce of the North was collected and discharged in the magazines of Kiev. The month of June was the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet; the timber of the canoes was framed into the oars and benches of more solid and capacious boats; and they proceeded down the Borysthenes to the Black Sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible; with a fair wind they could reach in thirty-six or forty hours the opposite shores of Anatolia; and Constantinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the North. They returned at the stated season with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. Some of their countrymen resided in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the persons, effects, and privileges of the Russian merchant.‡

Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople.

§ 8. But the same communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. In a period of 190 years the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople; the event was various, but the motive, the means, and the object were the same in these naval expeditions. The Russian traders had seen the magnificence, and tasted the luxury, of the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage countrymen: the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations that dwelt in the northern isles of the ocean. The

of Scandinavian: the "Varangians" (Βάραγγοι, the rendering of *v* by *β* had begun as early as the second century), first mentioned in A.D. 1034, were the bodyguard formed by the Norsemen. This is the meaning which the word bears in the old Norse Sagas. After the supply of Scandinavians had ceased and the corps was recruited from other Teutonic peoples (Danes, English, etc.), the original title remained, and "Varangians" came to be used solely in the sense of this Imperial bodyguard of Teutons. (Thomsen compares the "Swiss guards" of the French sovereigns and the pope.)

* *I.e.* New-town.

† Oleg annexed the southern state and made Kiev his capital (cf. Nestor, c. xviii.).

‡ The text of these documents is preserved in the *Chronicle of Nestor* (see below).

Greek appellation of *monoxyla*, or single canoes, might be justly applied to the bottom of their vessels. It was scooped out of the long stem of a beech or willow, but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve, feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a mast; to move with sails and oars; and to contain from forty to seventy men, with their arms, and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. The first trial of the Russians was made with 200 boats; but when the national force was exerted they might arm against Constantinople 1000 or 1200 vessels. In their first enterprise [A.D. 860]* under the princes of Kiev, they passed the Bosporus without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople in the absence of the emperor Michael III., the son of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils he landed at the palace-stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary. By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea; and a seasonable tempest, which determined the retreat of the Russians, was devoutly ascribed to the mother of God. The silence of the Greeks may inspire some doubt of the truth, or at least of the importance, of the second attempt by Oleg, the guardian of the sons of Ruric [A.D. 907].† A strong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Bosporus: they were eluded by the usual expedient of drawing the boats over the isthmus; and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and favourable gale.‡ The leader of the third armament (A.D. 941), Igor, the son of Ruric, had chosen a moment of weakness and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed against the Saracens. But if courage be not wanting, the instruments of defence are seldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed galleys were boldly launched against the enemy; but, instead of the single tube of Greek fire usually planted on the prow, the sides and stern of each vessel were abundantly supplied with that liquid combustible. The engineers were dexterous; the weather was propitious; many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea; and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one-third of the canoes escaped into shallow water; and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and

The first [A.D. 860].

The second [A.D. 907].

The third [A.D. 941].

* For the date, see De Boor, *Der Angriff der Rhôs auf Byzanz*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1895, p. 445 ff.

† Ruric died A.D. 879.

‡ The emperor had to pay a heavy sum and subscribe to a convention (*Chronicle*, c. xxi.) securing commercial privileges for the Russians. This convention is taken as the basis of negotiations in A.D. 912 for a regular treaty (*ibid.*, c. xxii.), which, however, was apparently never finally ratified.

The fourth (A.D. 1043).

claim his revenge.* After a long peace, Yaroslav, the great-grandson of Igor, resumed the same project of a naval invasion (A.D. 1043). A fleet, under the command of his son, was repulsed at the entrance of the Bosporus by the same artificial flames. But in the rashness of pursuit the vanguard of the Greeks was encompassed by an irresistible multitude of boats and men; their provision of fire was probably exhausted; and twenty-four galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed.

The memory of these Arctic fleets, that seemed to descend from the polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the Imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank it was asserted and believed that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople.† In our own time a Russian armament, instead of sailing from the Borysthenes, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the Turkish capital has been threatened by a squadron of strong and lofty ships of war, each of which, with its naval science and thundering artillery, could have sunk or scattered an hundred canoes, such as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction—of a rare prediction—of which the style is ambiguous and the date unquestionable.

Reign of Sviatoslav (A.D. 945-972).

§ 9. By land the Russians were less formidable than by sea; but the nations from the Volga to the Danube were subdued or repelled by the arms of Sviatoslav, the son of Igor, the son of Ruric (A.D. 945-972). By an embassy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, Sviatoslav was moved to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria.‡ An army of 60,000 men was assembled and embarked; they sailed from the Borysthenes to the Danube; their landing was effected on the Mœsian shore; and, after a sharp encounter, the swords of the Russians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sunk into the grave; his children were made captive; and his dominions, as far as Mount Hæmus, were subdued or ravaged by the northern invaders.§ But instead of

* The date is A.D. 944. The emperor again bought him off. Next year a new international treaty was concluded on the basis of the former convention of A.D. 912 (see Nestor, c. xxvii., where the document is given).

† The inscription is mentioned only by *Codinus*, p. 43, ed. Bonn.

‡ The Tsar Peter, who was paid an annual subsidy to prevent Hungarian inroads into the empire, had failed to fulfil his engagement, and Nicephorus seized the opportunity to destroy the power of his inconvenient neighbour. After an abortive invasion of Bulgaria, he rashly entrusted the mission to Sviatoslav, while he himself made preparations for his coming campaign in Syria against the Saracens.

§ This account (following the Greek writers) is confused. The best description is to be found in Schlumberger's *Nicéphore Phocas*, cc. xii. and xv. The order of events is as follows:—

A.D. 967. Sviatoslav conquers the northern part of Bulgaria.
,, 968. He is recalled to Kiev by an attack of the Patzinaks, which he repels. In the autumn he returns to Bulgaria.

relinquishing his prey and performing his engagements, the Russian prince pursued his march as far as Adrianople; a formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt; and Sviatoslav fiercely replied that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master. Nicephorus could no longer expel the mischief which he had introduced; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisces, who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of an hero. Sviatoslav was defeated in several battles, and retired to the strong post of Dristra (Silistria), on the banks of the Danube, where he was surrounded by the forces of the emperor [April 25, 972]. After a siege of sixty-five days Sviatoslav yielded to his adverse fortune; and the liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour, and apprehended the despair, of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Russia bound himself by solemn imprecations to relinquish all hostile designs; a safe passage was opened for his return; the liberty of trade and navigation was restored; a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers; and the allowance of 22,000 measures attests the loss and the remnant of the barbarians. After a painful voyage they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes; but their provisions were exhausted; the season was unfavourable; they passed the winter on the ice; and, before they could prosecute their march, Sviatoslav was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence.

His defeat by John Zimisces.

§ 10. Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians (A.D. 864). His triumph was transient and premature. The seed of the Gospel was sown on a barren soil: many were the apostates, the converts were few, and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the æra of Russian Christianity [A.D. 957]. A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death and assume the sceptre of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace she sailed from Kiev to Constantinople, where she received in the sacrament of baptism the venerable name of the empress

Conversion of Russia.

A.D. 969. Nicephorus, perceiving his mistake in calling in the ferocious and ambitious king, reverses his policy and makes a treaty with Bulgaria.
The Tsar Peter dies (in January).
Sviatoslav captures the young king Boris and his brother.
Assassination of Nicephorus in December.
,, 970. The Russians capture Philippopolis and massacre the inhabitants.
Tzimisces orders them to retire and then takes the field.

For the brilliant campaigns of Tzimisces Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine*, cc. i.–iii.

Helena. After her return to Kiev and Novgorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the Gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered to the gods of their fathers. Her son Sviatoslav was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Vladimir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant superstition of Constantinople. But the conversion of Vladimir was determined, or hastened, by his desire of a Roman bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the Christian pontiff [A.D. 989]; the city he restored to the emperor Basil, the brother of his spouse; but the brazen gates were transported, as it is said, to Novgorod, and erected before the first church as a trophy of his victory and faith. The edict of Vladimir had proclaimed that all who should refuse the rites of baptism would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient Russians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke.

Christianity of the North (A.D 800–1100).

§ 11. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the Christian æra the reign of the Gospel and of the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. A laudable ambition excited the monks both of Germany and Greece to visit the tents and huts of the barbarians: the first conversions were free and spontaneous; and an holy life and an eloquent tongue were the only arms of the missionaries. The leaders of nations held it lawful and pious to impose the Catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours: the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to the gulf of Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. The conversion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and the new Christians. The admission of the barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions. The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiev and

Novgorod; the writings of the fathers were translated into the Slavonic idiom; and 300 noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Yaroslav.

[C. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (1875); E. R. Roesler, *Romänische Studien* (1871); P. Hunfalvy, *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, trans. by Schwicker (1877), and *Die Ungarn oder Magyaren* (1881); A. Vambéry, *Der Ursprung der Magyaren* (1882); Hunfalvy, *Vámbéry's Ursprung d. Mag. besprochen* (1883); Bury, *The Coming of the Hungarians* in *Scottish Review*, July, 1892; Count G. Kuun, *Relationum Hungarorum cum Oriente . . . historia antiquissima* (1895, etc.); Vambéry, *Hungary in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Times* ("Story of the Nations," 1887); E. Csuday, *Geschichte der Ungarn*, trans. by Darvai (1899); L. Leger, *Chronique dite de Nestor*, trans. with introduction and analytical index (1884); V. Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State* (1877); W. R. S. Ralston, *Early Russian History* (1874); Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie* (1878, 4th ed., 1893), also trans. into English by Lang (1879); W. R. Morfill, *Russia* (1890), where other authorities are mentioned.]

APPENDIX.

1. THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE HUNGARIANS (§ 3).

The ethnology of the Hungarians has been the subject of much controversy. We have seen that the Magyars lived at one period of their history in Ugria (on the east of the Ural mountains), beside the Finnic Voguls and Ostiaks, and that their language shows a relation to Vogulic (*note* on § 3, p. 176). But their vocabulary also contains a large Turkish element; and consequently a question arises as to their ethnical relation. Are they of Finnic or of Turkish * stock? The former view is maintained by such scholars as Hunfalvy, Roesler, Budenz, etc.; the latter by Vambéry and others. On either hypothesis the presence of the foreign element in the language is explicable: if the Hungarians are of Finnic origin, the Turkish element is adequately accounted for by their sojourn in the Khazar empire and their absorption of at least one Khazar tribe, the Kabars (§ 3, *note* *); while on the Turkish theory, the Finnic element would have been introduced during a prolonged residence in the Vogul and Ostiak country. The controversy, therefore, might seem endless. But the Ugro-Finnic hypothesis seems to have most in its favour; at least it would appear that the original and the main element in the population was Ugro-Finnic. Professor Bury has pointed out, in an interesting critical *résumé* (*The Coming of the Hungarians* in *Scottish Review*, 1892, pt. ii. p. 29 ff.), that the simple numerals supply a good test; while in the higher numbers borrowing is quite conceivable (*e.g.* Russia borrowed its word for forty, *sorok*, from the Greek (τεσ)σαράκοντα), "one's own words for the simple numbers are the last part of the vocabulary one is likely to replace by the words of strangers" (p. 50). Now, the Hungarian and Vogulic numerals from 1 to 7 are almost identical, while the Turkish are totally different. It is quite probable that the Hungarians are a blend of both

* The argument that the Greek writers almost always call them Turks is of no value, for "Turk," like "Scythian" (cf. vol. i. p. 78), was used without any definite ethnological connotation.

races, the original and preponderating element being the Finnic. For the later absorption of Turkish and Slavonic elements, cf. § 4, *fin.* (above).

The name Magyar, now the national denomination, was very probably at first the name of one tribe. Constantine (*De adm. Imp.*, c. xxxvii.) actually mentions a tribe Μάζαροι (*i.e. Madsars* or *Madjars*) in the neighbourhood of the river Ural among the neighbours of the Patzinaks in their old home (probably Lebedia is meant), though he is not aware that they have any connection with his "Turks"; and one of the Khazar (therefore Turkish) tribes is called Megére (c. xl.). Two derivations are proposed. Hunfalvy and Roesler explain it by the Vogulic language as *ma-ger* or *mo-ger*, "men of the land"; while Vambéry rejects this interpretation, and explains it by Turkish as equivalent to *madsar*, the original form being *majar*, "hero" or "chief."

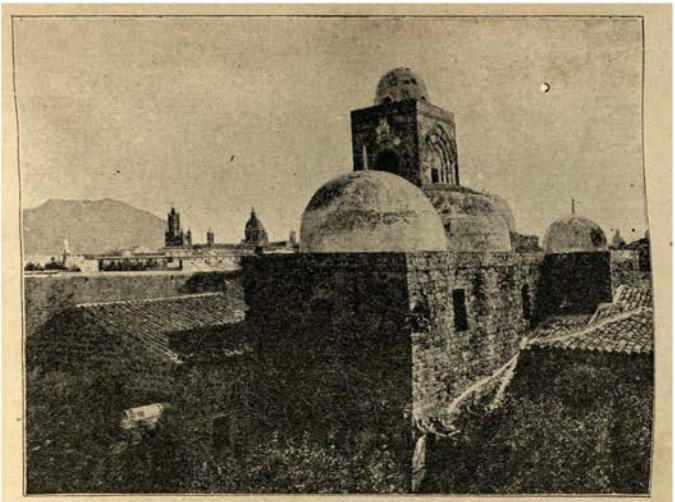
2. VARANGIAN AND RUSSIAN (§ 5).

Varangian, a Norse word, was originally a geographical title, denoting Scandinavians, and especially Swedes, but it did not originate in Scandinavia. It is derived from *vāra* (old Norse *vár-ar*, Anglo-Saxon *waer*), "plighted faith" or "protection"; and, according to Professor V. Thomsen, it originally meant, not *fœderati* (as used to be supposed), but "denizen" (μέτοικος), being the name applied by the Scandinavian conquerors of Russia to those of their kindred who came over the Baltic for trade or other reasons, as expressing their social status (in Russia). It was then adopted by the Slavs as the national title both of these immigrants and of the Scandinavians in general (especially the Swedes), and with this signification the name was transmitted to the Eastern nations. At Constantinople it acquired a special meaning, and this was the sense the name bore when it reached Scandinavia (above, § 6, *note*).

It would appear that Gibbon regarded *Russian* as the name of the tribes whom the Scandinavian conquering aristocracy found in the country. On the contrary, it was the name by which the native Slavs called their conquerors. *Rūs* is the Slavonic form of *Ruotsi* (in Esthonian *Rôts*), the name still applied to Sweden by the Finnic tribes round the Baltic and almost certainly derived from the first syllable of a word like *rōds-menn* or *rōds-karlar* (rowers, seafarers), denoting the occupation of the inhabitants, but taken by the Finns as their national name. From the Finns it passed to the Slavs, and from the Slavs (perhaps indirectly, on account of the vocalism) to the Greeks as Ῥώς, whence was formed Ῥωσσία, *Russia*. Used at first by the Slavs as the name of their conquerors, *Rūs* would easily come to denote the land under their rule (*Rūs-land*), and then the inhabitants themselves (*Russians*).

The Russian state, like the Bulgarian (above, § 1, *note*), was created by foreigners. The Slavs, with their great power of assimilation, have always shown a curious lack of the instinct of political organization. For an interesting study of the Slav character, cf. *The Spectator*, 1899, p. 521.

J. Ackerman, Photo lith London



Church of San Giovanni degli Eremiti at Palermo, built by King Roger, A.D. 1132.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE NORMANS.

§ 1. Conflict of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks in Italy (A.D. 840–1017). § 2. New province of the Greeks in Italy (A.D. 890). § 3. Origin of the Normans in Italy (A.D. 1016). § 4. The Normans in Sicily (A.D. 1038): their conquest of Apulia (A.D. 1040–1043). § 5. Oppression of Apulia: expedition of pope Leo IX. against the Normans (A.D. 1053): origin of the papal investiture to the Normans. § 6. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia: his character, ambition, and success. § 7. His Italian conquests. § 8. School of Salerno: trade of Amalphi. § 9. Conquest of Sicily by Count Roger (A.D. 1060–1090). § 10. Robert invades the Eastern empire (A.D. 1081). § 11. The emperor Henry IV., at the invitation of the Greeks, invades Italy (A.D. 1081); but flies before Robert (A.D. 1084). § 12. Second expedition of Robert into Greece (A.D. 1084, Oct.): his death (A.D. 1085). § 13. Reign of Roger, first king of Sicily: his conquests in Africa (A.D. 1122–1152): his invasion of Greece (A.D. 1146). § 14. The emperor Manuel reduces Calabria and Apulia (A.D. 1155): last war of the Greeks and Normans (A.D. 1185). § 15. Conquest of Sicily by the emperor Henry VI. (A.D. 1194): final extinction of the Normans.

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* The predominance of the Moorish element in this building is not surprising, when we consider the superiority of the Saracens in art and civilization, not only to their new rulers, the Normans, but also to all the other inhabitants of Sicily. See Fergusson, *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 810.

Conflict of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks in Italy (A.D. 840–1017).

§ 1. THE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy (A.D. 840–1017). The southern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were subject, for the most part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum: so powerful in war that they checked for a moment the genius of Charlemagne; so liberal in peace that they maintained in their capital an academy of thirty-two philosophers and grammarians. The division of this flourishing state produced the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua; and the thoughtless ambition or revenge of the competitors invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. During a calamitous period of 200 years Italy was exposed to a repetition of wounds, which the invaders were not capable of healing by the union and tranquillity of a perfect conquest. Their frequent and almost annual squadrons issued from the port of Palermo, and were entertained with too much indulgence by the Christians of Naples; the more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coast; and even the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist or oppose the Moslems of an adverse sect. A colony of Saracens had been planted at Bari, which commands the entrance of the Adriatic gulf; and their impartial depredations provoked the resentment and conciliated the union of the two emperors. An offensive alliance was concluded between Basil the Macedonian, the first of his race, and Lewis, the great-grandson of Charlemagne. The fortress of Bari was invested by the infantry of the Franks, and by the cavalry and galleys of the Greeks; and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir submitted to the clemency of Lewis, who commanded in person the operations of the siege (A.D. 871).

New province of the Greeks in Italy (A.D. 890).

§ 2. The death of Lewis and the decay of the Carlovingian house secured to the Greek emperors, Basil and his son Leo, the advantage of the reduction of Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded or compelled to acknowledge their supremacy, and an ideal line from Mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno leaves the far greater part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the Eastern empire. Beyond that line the dukes or republics of Amalphi and Naples, who had never forfeited their voluntary allegiance,* rejoiced in the neighbourhood of their lawful sovereign; and Amalphi was enriched by supplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Asia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua † were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of

* It was hardly more than nominal.

† For the revival of the Imperial power in South Italy, cf. Von Heinemann, *Gesch. d. Normannen*, vol. i. p. 7 f. The reality of its influence is shown by the fact that "from A.D. 891 an Imperial Protospathar resided in the palace of the Princes of Benevento, and although four years afterwards the old dynasty won back the throne, yet the principality remained in a certain position of dependence on Byzantium."

servitude and tribute. The city of Bari rose to dignity and wealth as the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy; the title of patrician, and afterwards the singular name of *Catapan*,* was assigned to the supreme governor; and the policy both of the church and state was modelled in exact subordination to the throne of Constantinople. As long as the sceptre was disputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverse; and the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany which descended from the Alps under the Imperial standard of the Othos. The first and greatest of those Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the siege of Bari: the second, after the loss of his stoutest bishops and barons, escaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotona (A.D. 982).

Origin of the Normans in Italy (A.D. 1016).

§ 3. The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily is an event most romantic in its origin, and in its consequences most important both to Italy and the Eastern empire. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, a fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France; they renounced their gods for the God of the Christians; and the dukes of Normandy acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. The savage fierceness which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate; the companions of Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives; they imbibed the manners, language, and gallantry of the French nation; and, in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glorious achievements. Of the fashionable superstitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of Mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of the archangel Michael, they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo: a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country.† The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence: they listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises, of the patriot. On their return to Normandy they kindled a spark of enterprise, and a small but intrepid band was freely associated for the

* Κατεπάνω. At the end of the tenth century the Imperial governor conquered the country between the rivers Ofanto and Fortore, and this district was called, after his title, Katipanata, afterwards corrupted into Kapitanata (Heinemann, p. 20).

† Melus had headed an unsuccessful revolt of the national, anti-Imperial party in Apulia.

deliverance of Apulia (A.D. 1016).* They passed the Alps by separate roads, and in the disguise of pilgrims; but in the neighbourhood of Rome they were saluted by the chief of Bari, who supplied the more indigent with arms and horses, and instantly led them to the field of action. In the first conflict their valour prevailed; but in the second † engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and indignantly retreated with their faces to the enemy [A.D. 1018 or 1019]. The unfortunate Melo ended his life a suppliant at the court of Germany: his Norman followers, excluded from their native and their promised land, wandered among the hills and valleys of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. To that formidable sword the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples alternately appealed in their domestic quarrels; the superior spirit and discipline of the Normans gave victory to the side which they espoused; and their cautious policy observed the balance of power, lest the preponderance of any rival state should render their aid less important and their service less profitable. Their first asylum was a strong camp in the depth of the marshes of Campania; but they were soon endowed by the liberality of the duke of Naples with a more plentiful and permanent seat. Eight miles from his residence, as a bulwark against Capua, the town of Aversa was built and fortified for their use [A.D. 1030];‡ and they enjoyed as their own the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile district. The report of their success attracted every year new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers: the poor were urged by necessity; the rich were excited by hope; and the brave and active spirits of Normandy were impatient of ease and ambitious of renown. The first leader of the Normans was Count Rainulf;§ and, in the origin of society, pre-eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of superior merit.

* The account in the text follows the poem of William of Apulia, but Amatus (Aimé) of Salerno, one of William's sources, gives a different version. In A.D. 1016, forty Norman pilgrims returning from Palestine landed on the coast of Salerno, and helped to deliver that town from a Saracen attack. In return for this service they were laden with gifts, and were requested to remain and defend the land against the infidels. They replied that they must return home, but they would tell of the riches of the South and induce their countrymen to visit those regions. The result was the appearance in Rome (in the course of the same year) of a band under a certain Rudolf, who was introduced to Melus, now in Capua, by the pope (who saw in their aid a chance of victory for the national party). M. Delarc would identify these forty Normans with the pilgrims of Mount Gargano (*Les Norm. en Italie*, p. 38 ff.). It is not impossible that the Saracen attacks on Italy were closely connected with the anti-Greek agitation in Apulia (as Heinemann thinks).

† The third; they had won two successes, see Delarc, *op. cit.*, p. 51 ff., and Heinemann, p. 36, and *Anmerk.* 1.

‡ A.D. 1030 (Gibbon gives A.D. 1029) is the true date (Delarc, *op. cit.*, p. 70, *note* 3, followed by Heinemann, p. 58, *note* 2).

§ Brother of Rudolf (see *note* *, above). It was he who founded Aversa.

§ 4. Since the conquest of Sicily by the Arabs, the Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain that valuable possession; but their efforts, however strenuous, had been opposed by the distance and the sea. After a reign of 200 years, the Saracens were ruined by their divisions. The emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis; the people rose against the emir; the cities were usurped by the chiefs; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendship of the Christians.* In every service of danger the Normans were prompt and useful; and five hundred *knights*, or warriors on horseback, were enrolled under the standard of Maniaces, governor of Lombardy (A.D. 1038). Before their landing the brothers were reconciled; the union of Sicily and Africa was restored; and the island was guarded to the water's edge. The Normans led the van, and the Arabs of Messina felt the valour of an untried foe. In two other battles the Normans were equally distinguished, and they essentially promoted the success of Maniaces, who reduced the greater part of Sicily under the obedience of the emperor. But his military fame was sullied by ingratitude and tyranny. In the division of the spoil the deserts of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten; and neither their avarice nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. Yet they dissembled *till* they had obtained a safe passage to the Italian continent; their brethren of Aversa sympathized in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the debt (A.D. 1040–1043).† Above twenty years after the first emigration, the Normans took the field with no more than 700 horse and 500 foot. They defeated the Imperial troops in two successive battles [A.D. 1041]; the duke of Lombardy was made prisoner; the Apulians acquiesced in a new dominion; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brundusium, and Tarentum

The Normans in Sicily (A.D. 1038).

Their conquest of Apulia (A.D. 1040–1043).

Rainulf afterwards allied himself with the prince of Capua; but when Conrad II. came to Italy in A.D. 1038, he placed Aversa under Salerno, and this arrangement remained in force after his departure. The Norman adventurers thus won a definite political position, recognized by the highest authority, and Aversa speedily became a base for the conquest of Apulia and the foundation of Norman states in South Italy.

* The "Sicilian" party (*i.e.* the Mohammedanized natives) had risen against the emir Akhal, who had oppressed them and favoured the "African" party (*i.e.* immigrants from Africa), and they were headed by Akhal's brother Abu-Hafs. The emir solicited Greek aid, while his brother applied to the sultan of Tunis. The sultan sent troops to support the rebels, and the Catepan of Italy crossed over to aid the emir (A.D. 1037), but returned when a reconciliation appeared to be probable. His departure was followed, however, by the murder of Akhal. Meantime an expedition had been prepared at Constantinople, and George Maniakes (ch. xxv., Appendix), who had just returned victorious from the Euphrates, was placed at the head of it. (Maniakes was not governor of the Theme of Lombardy.)

† Maniakes was recalled (cf. Finlay, vol. ii. p. 414), and while the Catepan Doceanus was engaged in a new campaign in Sicily, the Normans seized Melfi, and from thence proceeded to take other towns in the valleys of the Ofanto and Bradano (A.D. 1040).

were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this æra we may date the establishment of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the infant colony of Aversa. Twelve counts were chosen by the popular suffrage; and age, birth, and merit were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar districts were appropriated to their use; and each count erected a fortress in the midst of his lands, and at the head of his vassals. In the centre of the province the common habitation of Melphi was reserved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; a house and separate quarter was allotted to each of the twelve counts; and the national concerns were regulated by this military senate. The first of his peers, their president and general, was entitled Count of Apulia; and this dignity was conferred on William of the Iron Arm.*

Oppression of Apulia: expedition of Pope Leo IX. against the Normans (A.D. 1053).

§ 5. The Normans of Apulia were seated on the verge of the two empires, and, according to the policy of the hour, they accepted the investiture of their lands from the sovereigns of Germany or Constantinople.† But the firmest title of these adventurers was the right of conquest: they neither loved nor trusted; they were neither trusted nor beloved; the contempt of the princes was mixed with fear, and the fear of the natives was mingled with hatred and resentment. Every object of desire tempted and gratified the rapaciousness of the strangers, and the avarice of their chiefs was only coloured by the more specious names of ambition and glory. The twelve counts were sometimes joined in a league of injustice; in their domestic quarrels they disputed the spoils of the people; the virtues of William were buried in his grave; and Drogo, his brother and successor, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to restrain the violence, of his peers. Under the reign of Constantine Monomachus, the policy, rather than benevolence, of the Byzantine court attempted to relieve Italy from this adherent mischief, more grievous than a flight of barbarians; and Argyrus, the son of Melo, was invested for this purpose with the most ample commission. After failing to allure the conquerors of Apulia from the Italian provinces to the Persian war, Argyrus resolved to compel or destroy. The Latin powers were solicited against the common enemy, and an offensive alliance was formed of the pope ‡ and the two emperors of the East and West. But the power of Constantine was distracted by a Turkish war, the mind of the emperor Henry III. was feeble and irresolute, and the pope Leo IX., who had crossed the Alps

* They then placed themselves under the lordship of Waimar of Salerno, who now styled himself "Prince of Apulia and Calabria," and divided their conquests. But when Henry III. came to South Italy in A.D. 1047, he compelled Waimar to give up his title and his overlordship, and confirmed Rainulf of Aversa and Drogo of Apulia (§ 5) in their possessions, raising their lands to the dignity of Imperial fiefs (see Heinemann, pp. 107, 108).

† See previous note.

‡ Leo IX., a German of noble birth.

to solicit the assistance of the emperor, returned with only a guard of 700 Swabians and some volunteers of Lorraine. In his long progress from Mantua to Beneventum a vile and promiscuous multitude of Italians was enlisted under the holy standard. Drogo had been murdered in a church at the instigation of Argyrus; but his spirit survived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. In the neighbourhood of Civitella (Civitate) the Normans attacked, broke, routed, and pursued the Italian multitudes, who fought without discipline and fled without shame. The Germans fought with bravery, but after a severe conflict they were encompassed by the squadrons returning from the pursuit, and died in their ranks with the esteem of their foes and the satisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were shut against the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors, who kissed his feet to implore his blessing and the absolution of their sinful victory (A.D. 1053). The pope listened to the offers of a beneficial treaty,* deserted an alliance which he had preached as the cause of God, and ratified the past and future conquests of the Normans. By whatever hands they had been usurped, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were a part of the donation of Constantine and the patrimony of St. Peter; the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms; a tribute or quit-rent of twelve pence was afterwards stipulated for every plough-land, and since this memorable transaction the kingdom of Naples has remained above 700 years a fief of the Holy See.

Origin of the papal investiture to the Normans.

§ 6. Robert Guiscard sprang from a race of *valvassors* or *bannerets*, of the diocese of Coutances, in the Lower Normandy; the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat; and his father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke. Two marriages made him the father of twelve sons, who were educated at home by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny: two only remained to perpetuate the race and cherish their father's age; their ten brothers, as they successively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were prompted by native spirit; their success encouraged their younger brethren; and the three first in seniority, William,

Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia: his character, ambition, and success.

* The conditions are uncertain. There is no contemporary evidence, but "according to a later account the Normans required the cession of the (pope's) sovereignty over Apulia and Calabria, or at least of the States of the Church in South Italy and Sicily. How far this account deserves credence may be left undecided. But it is in the highest degree probable that . . . they required of the pope the renunciation of all the claims of the Roman Church to South Italian territory and the abandonment of his alliance with Byzantium" (Heinemann, p. 143). For a time the pope resisted these demands, but a dangerous illness which overtook him induced him to consent and secure his freedom; he died soon after.

Drogo, and Humphrey, deserved to be the chiefs of their nation and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage, and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman. His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army; his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and gracefulness; and to the decline of life he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long and of a flaxen colour, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. His boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth; in the pursuit of greatness he was never arrested by the scruples of justice and seldom moved by the feelings of humanity; though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or clandestine means was determined only by his present advantage. The surname of *Guiscard** was applied to this master of political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit, and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero. After the death of Humphrey the tender age of his sons excluded them from the command; they were reduced to a private estate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle; and Guiscard was exalted on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an increase of authority and of force, he resumed the conquest of Calabria, and soon aspired to a rank that should raise him for ever above the heads of his equals. Nicholas the Second conferred on Robert and his posterity the ducal title, with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks† and the unbelieving Saracens. The Normans confirmed by their suffrage the judgment of the vicar of Christ; the soldiers hailed with joyful acclamations their valiant duke; and the counts, his former equals, pronounced the oath of fidelity with hollow smiles and secret indignation (A.D. 1060). After this inauguration Robert styled himself, "By the grace of God and St. Peter, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily;" and it was the labour of twenty years to deserve and realize these lofty appellations.

His Italian conquests.

§ 7. The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples; and the countries united by his arms have not been dissevered by the revolutions of 700 years. The monarchy has been composed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, of the Lombard principality

* "The Norman writers and editors most conversant with their own idiom interpret *Guiscard* or *Wiscard* by *Callidus*, a cunning man. The root (*wise*) is familiar to our ear" (G.'s note).

† On the final schism of the Greek and Latin Churches, see ch. xxxiv.

of Salerno, the republic of Amalphi,* and the inland dependencies of the large and ancient duchy of Beneventum. Three districts only were exempted from the common law of subjection —the first for ever, and the two last till the middle of the succeeding century. The city and immediate territory of Benevento had been transferred, by gift or exchange, from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff; and although this holy land was sometimes invaded, the name of St. Peter was finally more potent than the sword of the Normans. Their first colony of Aversa subdued and held the state of Capua, and her princes were reduced to beg their bread before the palace of their fathers. The dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, maintained the popular freedom under the shadow of the Byzantine empire.

School of Salerno.

§ 8. Among the new acquisitions of Guiscard the science of Salerno and the trade of Amalphi may detain for a moment the curiosity of the reader. I. At Salerno a school, the first that arose in the darkness of Europe, was consecrated to the healing art; the conscience of monks and bishops was reconciled to that salutary and lucrative profession; and a crowd of patients of the most eminent rank and most distant climates invited or visited the physicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors; and Guiscard, though bred in arms, could discern the merit and value of a philosopher. After a pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, Constantine, an African Christian, returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians; and Salerno was enriched by the practice, the lessons, and the writings of the pupil of Avicenna.† II. Seven miles to the west of Salerno, and thirty to the south of Naples, the obscure town of Amalphi displayed the power and rewards of industry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent; but the sea was accessible and open: the inhabitants first assumed the office of supplying the western world with the manufactures and productions of the East; and this useful traffic was the source of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular, under the administration of a duke and the supremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thousand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalphi; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who swarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy; and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coasts, or at least to the commodities, of Africa, Arabia,

Trade of Amalphi.

* It recognized the overlordship of Guiscard after A.D. 1073 (Heinemann, p. 268).

† On the medical school of Salerno, and the survival there of Græco-Latin medical science, see Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 75 ff. The theory that the origin of the school was due to the introduction of Arabic writings by Constantine is a legend (cf. p. 143, *note*).

and India; and their settlements in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independent colonies. After 300 years of prosperity Amalphi was oppressed by the arms of the Normans, and sacked by the jealousy of Pisa; but the poverty of the present inhabitants is yet dignified by the remains of an arsenal, a cathedral, and the palaces of royal merchants.

Conquest of Sicily by Count Roger (A.D. 1060–1090).

§ 9. Roger, the twelfth and last of the sons of Tancred, had been long detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age. He accepted the welcome summons; hastened to the Apulian camp; and deserved at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their valour and ambition were equal; but the youth, the beauty, the elegant manners, of Roger engaged the disinterested love of the soldiers and people. With his brother's sanction and support, Roger undertook the conquest of Sicily, of which the Greeks had been unable to keep possession. After a war of thirty years (A.D. 1060–1090), Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean. A remnant of Christian natives had promoted the success of the Normans; they were rewarded by the triumph of the cross. The island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff; new bishops were planted in the principal cities; and the clergy was satisfied by a liberal endowment of churches and monasteries. Yet the Catholic hero asserted the rights of the civil magistrate. Instead of resigning the investiture of benefices, he dexterously applied to his own profit the papal claims: the supremacy of the crown was secured and enlarged by the singular bull which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the Holy See.

Robert invades the Eastern empire (A.D. 1081).

§ 10. To Robert Guiscard the conquest of Sicily was more glorious than beneficial; the possession of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to his ambition; and he resolved to embrace or create the first occasion of invading, perhaps of subduing, the Roman empire of the East. One of the daughters of Robert was betrothed, in a tender age, to Constantine, the son and heir of the emperor Michael. But the throne of Constantinople was shaken by a revolution: the Imperial family of Ducas was confined to the palace or the cloister; and Robert deplored and resented the disgrace of his daughter and the expulsion of his ally. A Greek, who styled himself the father of Constantine, soon appeared at Salerno, and related the adventures of his fall and flight. He was acknowledged by the duke, and adorned with the pomp and titles of Imperial dignity; yet this Michael, by the confession of the Greeks and Latins, was a pageant and an impostor: a monk who had fled from his convent, or a domestic who had served in the palace. The fraud had been contrived by the subtle Guiscard;* and he trusted that, after this pretender

* Some of Robert's dependents who had known Michael VII. denounced the Greek as an impostor. Robert was not the author of the fraud, as the

had given a decent colour to his arms, he would sink, at the nod of the conqueror, into his primitive obscurity. After two years' incessant preparations the land and naval forces of Robert were assembled at Otranto, at the heel or extreme promontory of Italy. Thirteen hundred knights of Norman race or discipline formed the sinews of the army, which might be swelled to 30,000 followers of every denomination. These forces were conveyed in safety to the opposite coast of Epirus, and Robert proceeded to lay siege to Durazzo, the western key of the empire, which was guarded by a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who, in every age, have maintained the character of soldiers (A.D. 1081). In the prosecution of his enterprise the courage of Guiscard was assailed by every form of danger and mischance. Part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and the remainder by the Greek fire of the Imperial galleys. The camp was afflicted with a pestilential disease; 500 knights perished by an inglorious death; and the list of burials amounted to 10,000 persons. Under these calamities the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible. He defeated with great slaughter an army which the emperor Alexius led in person to the relief of the town; Durazzo at length fell into the hands of the Normans (A.D. 1082, Feb.); but near seven months elapsed between the first investment and the final surrender of the place. From Durazzo the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania; traversed the first mountains of Thessaly; approached Thessalonica; and made Constantinople tremble. A more pressing duty suspended the prosecution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers; and instead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed of the mischiefs and dangers which had been produced by his absence: the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia; the distress of the pope; and the approach or invasion of Henry king of Germany. Highly presuming that his person was sufficient for the public safety, he repassed the sea in a single brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his son Bohemond and of the Norman counts. The son of Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father. After winning two battles against the emperor, he descended into the plain of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa, which contained the treasure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. In the neighbourhood of this city the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of Bohemond was always conspicuous, and often successful; but his camp was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks; the city was impregnable; and the venal or discontented counts deserted his standard, betrayed their trusts, and enlisted in the service of the

Greek writers afterwards alleged, but he professed to believe the impostor's tale and took him under his protection, hoping thus to draw to his side the adherents of Michael and the foes of the ruling dynasty (cf. Heinemann, p. 303).

emperor. Alexius returned to Constantinople with the advantage, rather than the honour, of victory. After evacuating the conquests which he could no longer defend, the son of Guiscard embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father who esteemed his merit and sympathized in his misfortune.

The emperor Henry IV., at the invitation of the Greeks, invades Italy (A.D. 1081); but flies before Robert (A.D. 1084).

§ 11. Of the Latin princes, the allies of Alexius and enemies of Robert, the most prompt and powerful was Henry IV., king of Germany and Italy, and future emperor of the West. Henry was the sincere adversary of the Normans, the allies and vassals of Gregory VII., his implacable foe.* The long quarrel of the throne and mitre had been recently kindled by the zeal and ambition of that haughty priest: the king and the pope had degraded each other; and each had seated a rival on the temporal or spiritual throne of his antagonist. After the defeat and death of his Swabian rebel, Henry descended into Italy, to assume the Imperial crown, and to drive from the Vatican the tyrant of the church. But the Roman people adhered to the cause of Gregory; and the city was thrice ineffectually besieged by the king of Germany. In the fourth year (A.D. 1084) he corrupted, as it is said, with Byzantine gold the nobles of Rome, whose estates and castles had been ruined by the war. The gates, the bridges, and fifty hostages were delivered into his hands: the anti-pope, Clement III., was consecrated in the Lateran: the grateful pontiff crowned his protector in the Vatican; and the emperor Henry fixed his residence in the Capitol, as the lawful successor of Augustus and Charlemagne. The ruins of the Septizonium were still defended by the nephew of Gregory: the pope himself was invested in the castle of St. Angelo; and his last hope was in the courage and fidelity of his Norman vassal. Nor was he disappointed. Unfurling the holy banner, Guiscard resolved to fly to the relief of the prince of the apostles: the most numerous of his armies, 6000 horse and 30,000 foot, was instantly assembled; and his march from Salerno to Rome was animated by the public applause and the promise of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in sixty-six battles, trembled at his approach; exhorted the Romans to persevere in their allegiance; and hastily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans. In less than three years the son of Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering the pope, and of compelling the two emperors of the East and West to fly before his victorious arms. But the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory the walls had been perforated or scaled; but the Imperial faction was still powerful and active; on the third day the people rose in a furious tumult; and an hasty word of the conqueror, in his defence or revenge, was the signal of fire and pillage. The Saracens of Sicily, the subjects of Roger, and auxiliaries of his brother, embraced this fair occasion of rifling and profaning the holy city of the Christians; many thousands

* Cf. p. 91.

of the citizens, in the sight and by the allies of their spiritual father, were exposed to violation, captivity, or death; and a spacious quarter of the city, from the Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames and devoted to perpetual solitude.

§ 12. In the same year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his Eastern conquests (A.D. 1084). Alexius, apprehensive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to restore the naval forces of the empire, and obtained from the republic of Venice the assistance of a powerful fleet. By the union of the Greeks and Venetians the Adriatic was covered with an hostile fleet; but the Norman troops crossed the sea in safety, and landed on the coast of Epirus. With twenty strong and well-appointed galleys their intrepid duke immediately sought the enemy. The dominion of the sea was disputed in three engagements, in sight of the isle of Corfu; in the two former the skill and numbers of the allies were superior; but in the third the Normans obtained a final and complete victory. The winter season suspended the progress of Robert; with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople; but, instead of traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands. In the isle of Cephalonia his projects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease: Robert himself, in the seventieth year of his age, expired in his tent (A.D. 1085, July 17).* This premature death might allow a boundless scope for the imagination of his future exploits, and the event sufficiently declares that the Norman greatness was founded on his life. Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation, and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance. Roger, his second son and successor, immediately sunk to the humble station of a duke of Apulia; the esteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheritance of his sword. The national tranquillity was disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade against the infidels of the East opened a more splendid field of glory and conquest.

Second expedition of Robert into Greece (A.D. 1084, Oct.).

His death (A.D. 1085).

§ 13. The male line of Robert Guiscard was extinguished, both in Apulia and at Antioch, in the second generation; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings; and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the spirit of the first Roger (A.D. 1101–1154). The heir of that Norman adventurer was born in Sicily, and at the age of only four years he succeeded to the sovereignty of the island. On the death of his cousin William of Apulia, the grandson of Robert, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven galleys, cast anchor in the bay of Salerno, received, after ten

Reign of Roger, first king of Sicily.

* He died at Bundicia (probably the ancient Pandosia) on the coast of Epirus, near Porto Phanári, as he was about to sail for Cephalonia (Heinemann, *op. cit.*, p. 401 ff.).

days' negotiation, an oath of fidelity from the Norman capital, and extorted a legal investiture from the reluctant popes, who could not long endure either the friendship or enmity of a powerful vassal (A.D. 1127). The sacred spot of Benevento was respectfully spared, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the reduction of Capua and Naples completed the design of his uncle Guiscard; and the sole inheritance of the Norman conquests was possessed by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count; and the isle of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom which would only yield to the monarchies of France and England. Roger persuaded the pontiff Anacletus to confer upon him the title of king of Sicily; but the legitimacy of this pontiff was attacked by the adverse election of Innocent II.; and while Anacletus sat in the Vatican, the successful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant monarchy of Roger was shaken, and almost overthrown, by the unlucky choice of an ecclesiastical patron; and the sword of Lothaire II. of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, the fleets of Pisa, and the zeal of St. Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant resistance the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy, and a new duke of Apulia was invested by the pope and the emperor. But their friendship was of short and precarious duration: the German armies soon vanished in disease and desertion; the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was exterminated by a conqueror who seldom forgave either the dead or the living; like his predecessor Leo IX., the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans; and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revered the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

His conquests in Africa (A.D. 1122–1152).

Roger next turned his arms against the Saracens of Africa. His first conquest was the island or rock of Malta, which was inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. In successive expeditions the king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities of Tripoli, Mahadia, Tunis, Safax, Capsia, Bona, and a long tract of the sea-coast; the fortresses were garrisoned, the country was tributary, and a boast, that it held Africa in subjection, might be inscribed with some flattery on the sword of Roger. After his death, that sword was broken; and these transmarine possessions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor.

His invasion of Greece (A.D. 1146).

Since the decease of Robert Guiscard the Normans had relinquished, above sixty years, their hostile designs against the empire of the East. The policy of Roger solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his regal character: he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the

treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of the new monarch; and the insolence of the Byzantine court was expiated, according to the laws of nations, by the sufferings of a guiltless people. With a fleet of seventy galleys, George the admiral of Sicily appeared before Corfu; and both the island and city were delivered into his hands by the disaffected inhabitants (A.D. 1146). In this invasion the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth was violated by rapine and cruelty. The admiral of Sicily advanced as far as Constantinople, which he insulted with impunity in the absence of the emperor. But Manuel soon collected a powerful fleet; in his homeward voyage George lost nineteen of his galleys, which were separated and taken; after an obstinate defence Corfu implored the clemency of her lawful sovereign; nor could a ship, a soldier, of the Norman prince, be found, unless as a captive, within the limits of the Eastern empire (A.D. 1149).

§ 14. A prince of such a temper could not be satisfied with having repelled the insolence of a barbarian. Manuel followed up his success by invading Italy: in the course of two campaigns he reduced Apulia and Calabria (A.D. 1155), and professed his design of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. By the gifts and promises of their Eastern ally, the free cities were encouraged to persevere in their generous struggle against the despotism of Frederic Barbarossa;* the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel; and he poured, says the historian, a river of gold into the bosom of Ancona, whose attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians. The pride of Manuel disdained and rejected a barbarian colleague; his ambition was excited by the hope of stripping the purple from the German usurpers, and of establishing in the West, as in the East, his lawful title of sole emperor of the Romans. But these Italian conquests, this universal reign, soon escaped from the hand of the Greek emperor. During the quarrel between Frederic and the pontiff Alexander III., the latter had cultivated the alliance of the Greek emperor; but after his re-union with Frederic, Alexander excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final separation of the churches, or at least the empires, of Constantinople and Rome. The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor, and, without preserving the friendship of Ancona, he soon incurred the enmity of Venice. Manuel was glad to grant to the Normans a peace or truce of thirty years; the king of Sicily accepted as a gift the regal title; and acknowledged himself the military vassal of the Roman empire (A.D. 1156). The Byzantine Cæsars acquiesced in this shadow of dominion, without expecting, perhaps without desiring, the

The emperor Manuel reduces Calabria and Apulia (A.D. 1155).

* Cf. ch. xxvi. § 15.

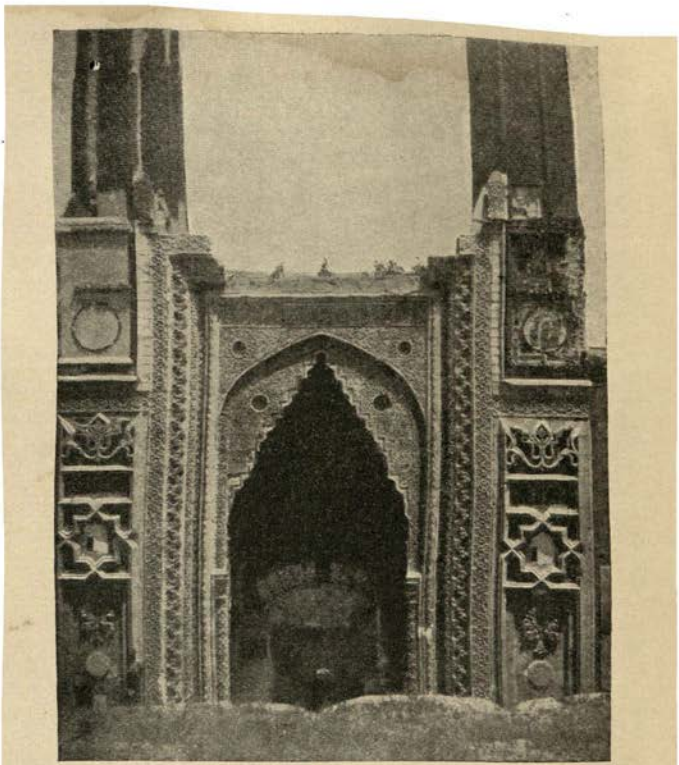
service of a Norman army; and the truce of thirty years was not disturbed by any hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople. About the end of that period, the throne of Manuel was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had deserved the abhorrence of his country and mankind: the sword of William II., the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race; and the subjects of Andronicus might salute the strangers as friends, since they detested their sovereign as the worst of enemies (A.D. 1185). The Normans expatiate on the rapid progress of the four counts who invaded Romania with a fleet and army, took Thessalonica, the second city of the empire, and gained many victories both on sea and land. A revolution which punished the crimes of Andronicus had united against the Franks the zeal and courage of the successful insurgents: 10,000 were slain in battle; and Isaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of 4000 captives. Such was the event of the last contest between the Greeks and Normans: before the expiration of twenty years the rival nations were lost or degraded in foreign servitude; and the successors of Constantine did not long survive to insult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

Last war of the Greeks and Normans (A.D. 1185).

§ 15. The sceptre of Roger successively devolved to his son and grandson, William I., surnamed the Bad (A.D. 1154–1166), and William II., surnamed the Good (A.D. 1166–1189). The legitimate male posterity of Tancred of Hauteville was extinct in the person of the second William; but his aunt, the daughter of Roger, had married the most powerful prince of the age; and Henry VI., the son of Frederic Barbarossa, descended from the Alps, to claim the Imperial crown and the inheritance of his wife. The Normans raised to the throne of Sicily Tancred, the grandson of the first king, whose birth was illegitimate, but whose civil and military virtues shone without a blemish. During four years, the term of his life and reign, he stood in arms on the farthest verge of the Apulian frontier against the powers of Germany; but after his decease the kingdom of his widow and infant son fell without a struggle, and Henry pursued his victorious march from Capua to Palermo (A.D. 1194). The young king, his mother and sisters, and the nobles of both sexes, were separately confined in the fortresses of the Alps; and, on the slightest rumour of rebellion, the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or of the hope of posterity. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchs annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy (A.D. 1204); the sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted, by a granddaughter of William the Conqueror, to the house of Plantagenet; and the adventurous Normans, who had raised so many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the East, were lost, either in victory or servitude, among the vanquished nations.

Conquest of Sicily by the emperor Henry VI. (A.D. 1194): final extinction of the Normans.

[L. von Heinemann, *Geschichte der Normannen in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, Band i. (to the death of Guiscard), 1894; O. Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie depuis les premières invasions jusqu'à l'avènement de S. Greg. VII.* (859–862, 1016–1073), 1883; K. Schwarz, *Die Feldzüge R. Guiscards gegen das byzantinische Reich* (1854); F. Holzach, *Die auswärtige Politik des Königreichs Sizilien vom Tode Rogers II. bis zum Frieden von Venedig*, 1154–1177 (1892).]



Gateway of a Seljuk College (*Medresse*) at Sivas, built by a Greek architect in the reign of the Sultan Kai Khosru III., about A.D. 1272.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE TURKS.

§ 1. The Turks: Mahmud the Ghaznevide: defeat of the Ghaznevides by the Turkmans. § 2. Dynasty of the Seljukians: reign and character of Togrul Beg (A.D. 1038–1063). § 3. Invasion of the Roman empire (A.D. 1050): reign of Alp Arslan (A.D. 1063–1072): defeat of the emperor Romanus (A.D. 1071). § 4. Reign and prosperity of Malek Shah (A.D. 1072–1092). § 5. Division of the Seljukian empire. § 6. Conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks. § 7. The Seljukian kingdom of Roum. § 8. State and pilgrimage of Jerusalem (A.D. 638–1099): under the Fatimite caliphs (A.D. 969–1076). § 9. Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks (A.D. 1076–1096).

The Turks.

§ 1. FROM the isle of Sicily the reader must transport himself beyond the Caspian Sea to the original seat of the Turks or Turkmans, against whom the first crusade was principally directed. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia; their princes of the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt, and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

Mahmud the Ghaznevide: defeat of the Ghaznevides by the Turkmans.

One of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mahmud, the Ghaznevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia one thousand years after the birth of Christ [A.D. 998–1030]. His father Sebectagi [Sabaktagīn] was the slave of a lieutenant of the Samanides, who ruled over Transoxiana and Chorasan, and who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The master of Sebectagi broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political slavery; and the slave ascended to the supreme command of the city and province of Ghazna, as the son-in-law and successor of his grateful master. Mahmud assumed the title of *Sultan;** and his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. The principal source of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged against the Gentoos of Hindostan; but the history of his twelve celebrated expeditions is foreign to this narrative. He was succeeded by his son Massoud [Masūd, A.D. 1030–1040], who was defeated in a great battle in the province of Chorasan by the Turkmans, who dwelt in the spacious plains of Transoxiana and Carizme.†

Dynasty of the Seljukians: reign and character of Togrul Beg (A.D. 1038–1063).

§ 2. The victorious Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a sultan; and, if the probable tale of a Latin historian deserves any credit, they determined by lot the choice of their new master. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child, and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg (A.D. 1038-1063), the grandson of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalized in the greatness of his posterity. The blind determination of chance was justified by the virtues of the successful candidate. By his arms the Ghaznevides were expelled from the eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually driven to the banks of the Indus, in search of a softer and more wealthy conquest.‡ Having embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet, the son of Seljuk

* The statement is not warranted by his coins. Ibrāhim (A.D. 1059-1099) was the first to adopt the title (which was borrowed from the Seljuks).

† Carizme [Khwārizm] or Urgendj is the modern Khiva, on the west bank of the Oxus (Jihun), some distance south of the sea of Aral.

‡ The Seljuk Turks stripped him of his Persian and Transoxine provinces, but the dynasty continued to rule at Ghazna until A.D. 1161, and afterwards at Lahore.

mbibed a lively reverence for the successor of the prophet. But that sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was solicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, though illiterate, barbarians. Togrul declared himself in favour of the caliph of Bagdad, who named the Seljukian sultan his temporal vicegerent over the Moslem world. As Togrul executed and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Kāim, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms. In the palace of Bagdad the commander of the faithful still slumbered, a venerable phantom. His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides [Buwayhids], could no longer protect him from the insolence of meaner tyrants; and the Euphrates and Tigris were oppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. At the head of an irresistible force the sultan of Persia marched from Hamadan: the prince of the Bowides disappeared; and the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul. After the chastisement of the guilty and the restoration of peace, he entered Bagdad in triumph (A.D. 1055), and was solemnly declared in presence of the faithful the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. In a second visit to Bagdad the Seljukian prince again rescued the caliph from his enemies; and devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the prison to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrul's sister with the successor of the prophet. In this revolution the Abbassides acquired a larger measure of liberty and power. On the throne of Asia the Turkish monarchs were less jealous of the domestic administration of Bagdad; and the commanders of the faithful were relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty.

Invasion of the Roman empire (A.D. 1050).

§ 3. Since the fall of the caliphs, the discord and degeneracy of the Saracens respected the Asiatic provinces of Rome; which, by the victories of Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-five years after the death of Basil, his successors were suddenly assaulted by an unknown race of barbarians, who united the Scythian valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes and the art and riches of a powerful monarchy. The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of 600 miles from Tauris to Erzerum, and the blood of 130,000 Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Yet the arms of Togrul did not make any deep or lasting impression on the Greek empire. The torrent rolled away from the open country; the sultan retired without glory or success from the siege of an Armenian city; and the obscure hostilities were continued or suspended with a vicissitude of events. Togrul died childless, and his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of Sultan (A.D. 1063). The name of Alp Arslan, the valiant lion, is expressive of the popular idea of the perfection of man;

Reign of Alp Arslan (A.D. 1063-1072).

and the successor of Togrul displayed the fierceness and generosity of the royal animal. He passed the Euphrates at the head of the Turkish cavalry and entered Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, whence he carried away the doors of the temple of St. Basil, incrusted with gold and pearls. The final conquest of the provinces of Armenia and Georgia was achieved by Alp Arslan (A.D. 1065–1068).

His alarming progress compelled the Greek empress Eudocia to give herself and her sceptre to the hand of a soldier; and Romanus Diogenes was invested with the Imperial purple. In the palace, Diogenes was no more than the husband of Eudocia; in the camp, he was the emperor of the Romans, and he sustained that character with feeble resources and invincible courage.* In three laborious campaigns the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates; in the fourth and last, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia (A.D. 1068–1071). He marched forwards to the siege of Melazgerd (or Manzikert), an important fortress midway between Erzeroum and Van. His army amounted, at the least, to 100,000 men. The troops of Constantinople were reinforced by the disorderly multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia; but the real strength was composed of the subjects and allies of Europe—Macedonians, Bulgarians, Uzi (themselves of the Turkish race), and, above all, the adventurous bands of French and Normans. On the report of this bold invasion, which threatened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan flew to the scene of action at the head of 40,000 horse. His rapid and skilful evolutions distressed the superior numbers of the Greeks. The emperor had imprudently separated his forces after the reduction of Melazgerd. It was in vain that he attempted to recall the mercenary Franks: they refused to obey his summons; the Uzi deserted; and against the most salutary advice he rushed forward to decisive action. In the battle which ensued the Greeks were defeated with immense loss, and the emperor fell into the hands of the sultan.† Alp Arslan treated his captive with courtesy, and released him on his promising to pay a million pieces of gold as a ransom, and an annual tribute of 360,000. But no sooner did Romanus reach the confines of the empire than he was informed that the palace and provinces had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive; a sum of 200,000 pieces was painfully collected; and the fallen monarch transmitted this part of his ransom, with a sad confession of his impotence and disgrace. The generosity, or perhaps the ambition, of the sultan prepared to espouse the cause of his ally; but his designs were prevented by the defeat, imprisonment, and death of Romanus Diogenes.

Defeat of the emperor Romanus (A.D. 1071).

In the following year (A.D. 1072) Alp Arslan undertook the

* On the disorganized state of the army at this time, see Appendix to ch. xxv. (*fin.*).

† On the battle, cf. Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 31 ff.; Oman, *Art of War*, vol. ii. p. 217 ff.

conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of the house of Seljuk. He crossed the Oxus; but his progress was retarded by the governor of Berzem; and Joseph the Carizmian presumed to defend his fortress against the powers of the East. When he was produced a captive in the royal tent, the sultan severely reproached his obstinate folly; and the insolent replies of the rebel provoked a sentence, that he should be fastened to four stakes and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command the desperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, rushed headlong towards the throne: the guards raised their battle-axes; their zeal was checked by Alp Arslan, the most skilful archer of the age; he drew his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal; and the Turkish prince bequeathed a dying admonition to the pride of kings. "In my youth," said Alp Arslan, "I was advised by a sage to humble myself before God; to distrust my own strength; and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons; and my neglect has been deservedly punished."

Reign and prosperity of Malek Shah (A.D. 1072–1092).

§ 4. Alp Arslan was succeeded by his eldest son Malek Shah (A.D. 1072–1092), who, by his personal merit and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of his age. Beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carizme, and Samarcand, and crushed each rebellious slave or independent savage who dared to resist. He passed the Sihon or Jaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization: the hordes of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy; and his name was inserted on the coins and in the prayers of Cashgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier he stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of his harem, the shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp each province was successively blessed with his presence; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the *Asiatic* reign of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditions the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca; the freedom and safety of the caravans were protected by his arms; and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment which he instituted for the use of his brethren. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with mosques and colleges; and the language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljuk. The sultan directed his attention to the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet the Moslems are confined to

the irregular course of the lunar months; in Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival; but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected; the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Gelalæan* æra; and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian, style.*

Division of the Seljukian empire.

§ 5. The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and his four sons; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates confirmed a lasting separation in the *Persian* dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger dynasties were those of *Kirman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum*: the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure, dominion on the shores of the Indian Ocean; the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation; he allowed the princes of his blood, even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren; but after the death of Malek the bands of union and subordination were relaxed and finally dissolved; the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the Oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.†

Conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks.

§ 6. A prince of the royal line, Cutulmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan. His five sons, strong in arms, and eager for revenge, unsheathed

* "The Gelalæan æra (Gelal-ed-din [G = J], Glory of the Faith, was one of the names or titles of Malek Shah) is fixed to the 15th of March, A.H. 471 = A.D. 1079" (G.). The reform of the calendar was due to the sultan's able Vezir (Vizier, "bearer of burdens" of State, Prime Minister), Nizām-al-Mulk, on whom see S. Lane-Poole's sketch in c. i. of *Saladin* (1898).

† On the organization of the Seljuk empire, cf. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, c. i. Each Seljuk prince had a bodyguard of white slaves (*mamlūks, i.e.* "owned"), who soon came to fill all the higher offices and obtained their freedom. Their services were rewarded by grants of military fiefs, which they held on condition of supplying troops to their master. "As the Seljuks grew weak, . . . their mamlūks, who had fought their battles for them, became the guardians or regents (*atābegs*) of their youthful heirs, and speedily exchanged the delegated function for the full privileges of sovereignty" (*The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 159). Cf. ch. xxxiii. § 18.

their scimitars against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, unite your forces in a holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his apostle." They listened to his voice; the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen; and the eldest, the valiant Soliman [Sulaimān], accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Erzeroum to Constantinople and the unknown regions of the West (A.D. 1074). Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates: the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kutāia (Cotiæum) in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Since the decline of the empire the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient though destructive inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the Imperial crown, till the provinces of the East and West were lost in the same month by a double rebellion: of either chief Nicephorus was the common name; but the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the divan; and, after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favour of Botaniates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis or Scutari; and a body of two thousand Turks was transported into Europe, to whose dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased by the sacrifice of Asia: Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosporus and Hellespont; and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. Alexius, who succeeded Nicephorus Botaniates, sought the friendship of Soliman; and it was not till after the sultan's death that the emperor extended as far as Nicomedia, about sixty miles from Constantinople, the eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either side by the sea and mountains, preserved at the extremity of the Euxine the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a Christian empire.

The Seljukian kingdom of Roum.

§ 7. Since the first conquests of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia, or Asia Minor, was the most deplorable

loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of *Ghazi*, a holy champion; and his new kingdom of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria. By the choice of the sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortress: the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was planted a hundred miles from Constantinople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the Catholics. Antioch and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo, yielded to the sultan. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosporus, or arm of St. George, the conquests and reign of Soliman extended thirty days' journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea. The Turkish ignorance of navigation protected for a while the inglorious safety of the emperor; but no sooner had a fleet of 200 ships been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive epistles were dispersed over Europe to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches of the city of Constantine.

State and pilgrimage of Jerusalem (A.D. 638–1099).

§ 8. But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks was that of Jerusalem, which soon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had stipulated the assurance of their religion and property, but the articles were interpreted by a master against whom it was dangerous to dispute; and in the 400 years of the reign of the caliphs the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storms and sunshine. By the increase of proselytes and population the Mahometans might excuse their usurpation of three-fourths of the city; but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch with his clergy and people; a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection; and the sepulchre of Christ, with the church of the Resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries the most numerous and respectable portion were strangers to Jerusalem: the pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquest of the Arabs; and the enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the East and West continued to visit the holy sepulchre and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter; and the Greeks and Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor of their respective communions. The pre-eminence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks, and the greatness of Charlemagne protected both the Latin pilgrims and the Catholics of the East.

In the decline of the Carlovingian monarchy the republic of Amalphi promoted the interest of trade and religion in the East. Her vessels transported the Latin pilgrims to the coasts of Egypt and Palestine, and deserved, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliphs: an annual fair was instituted on Mount Calvary; and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order which afterwards reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta.

Under the Fatimite caliphs (A.D. 969–1076).

The revolution which transferred the sceptre from the Abbassides to the Fatimites was a benefit rather than an injury to the Holy Land. A sovereign resident in Egypt was more sensible of the importance of Christian trade; and the emirs of Palestine were less remote from the justice and power of the throne. But the third of these Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem [Hākim], a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man, and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly [A.D. 996–1020]. At first the caliph declared himself a zealous Musulman; but his vanity was soon flattered by the hope of introducing a new religion; he aspired above the fame of a prophet, and styled himself the visible image of the Most High God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifest in his royal person. At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration; his mysteries were performed on a mountain near Cairo; 16,000 converts had signed his profession of faith; and at the present hour a free and warlike people, the Druses of Mount Libanus, are persuaded of the life and divinity of a madman and tyrant. In his divine character, Hakem hated the Jews and Christians, as the servants of his rivals;* while some remains of prejudice or prudence still pleaded in favour of the law of Mahomet. The temple of the Christian world, the church of the Resurrection, was demolished to its foundations; and much labour was exhausted to destroy the cave in the rock which properly constitutes the holy sepulchre (A.D. 1009). After the assassination of Hakem the succeeding caliphs resumed the maxims of religion and policy: a free toleration was again granted; with the pious aid of the emperor of Constantinople the holy sepulchre arose from its ruins; and the pilgrims returned in greater numbers to the sacred spot. In the sea-voyage of Palestine the dangers were frequent and the opportunities rare; but the conversion of Hungary opened a safe communication between Germany and Greece. Among the Franks the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times, and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their

* His persecution *preceded* his assumption of divinity (A.D. 1017), and afterwards ceased.

dominions, and the numbers of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the cross.

Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks (A.D. 1076–1096).

§ 9. After the defeat of the Romans, the tranquillity of the Fatimite caliphs was invaded by the Turks. They were repulsed from Egypt, but they conquered Syria and the Holy Land. The house of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jerusalem (A.D. 1076–1096); but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was entrusted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans.* The Oriental Christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the North. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmans to insult the clergy of every sect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the Resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the Holy Land; and yet how trifling is the sum of these accumulated evils, if compared with the single act of the sacrilege of Hakem, which had been so patiently endured by the Latin Christians! A slighter provocation inflamed the more irascible temper of their descendants: a new spirit had arisen of religious chivalry and papal dominion; a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

[Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, vol. iii. p. 80 ff.; C. Defrémery, *Histoire des Seldjoukides et des Ismaéliens ou Assassins de l'Iran*, from the Persian Hamd-Allah (1849, extract from *Journal Asiatique* for 1848); J. A. Vullers, *Mirchonds Geschichte d. Seldschuken aus dem Persischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert* (1838); Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*. Other references are given in the notes.]

* Ortuk had been a military officer under the sultan of Damascus (cf. *note* on § 5).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CRUSADES.

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The FIRST CRUSADE (A.D. 1095–1099): Peter the Hermit.

§ 1. I. *The first Crusade.*—ABOUT twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by an hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy in France. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name; he mingled his tears with those of the patriarch, and earnestly inquired if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the East. The patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of the successors of Constantine. "I will rouse," exclaimed the hermit, "the martial nations of Europe in your cause;" and Europe was obedient to

View of Jerusalem from the west, with the hills bounding the Jordan valley in the distance. *To face p.* 214.

the call of the hermit. The astonished patriarch dismissed him with epistles of credit and complaint; and no sooner did he land at Bari than Peter hastened to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff. His stature was small, his appearance contemptible; but his eye was keen and lively, and he possessed that vehemence of speech which seldom fails to impart the persuasion of the soul. Pope Urban II. received him as a prophet, applauded his glorious design, promised to support it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land.* Invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, his zealous missionary traversed, with speed and success, the provinces of Italy and France. His head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapped in a coarse garment; he bore and displayed a weighty crucifix; and the ass on which he rode was sanctified, in the public eye, by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways: the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people was impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms. The most perfect orator of Athens might have envied the success of his eloquence: the rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt, and Christendom expected with impatience the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

Councils of Placentia and Clermont.

§ 2. Urban summoned a council at Placentia, which was numerously attended (A.D. 1095, March). The ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign, and the danger of Constantinople, which was divided only by a narrow sea from the victorious Turks, the common enemies of the Christian name. At the sad tale of the misery and perils of their Eastern brethren the assembly burst into tears; the most eager champions declared their readiness to march; and the Greek ambassadors were dismissed with the assurance of a speedy and powerful succour. But the prudent Urban adjourned the final decision to a second synod, which he proposed to celebrate in some city of France in the autumn of the same year. The short delay would propagate the flame of enthusiasm; and his firmest hope was in a nation of soldiers still proud of the pre-eminence of their name. A latent motive of affection or vanity might influence the choice of Urban: he was himself a native of France, a monk of Clugny, and the first of his countrymen who ascended the throne of St. Peter. In the month of November a second council assembled at Clermont, not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia. From the synod of Placentia the rumour of the great design had gone forth among the nations; the clergy on their return had preached in every

* The story ascribing the first crusade to Peter's instigation depends on late (twelfth century) evidence. So far as contemporary evidence goes, his preaching was subsequent to the Councils of A.D. 1095.

diocese the merit and glory of the deliverance of the Holy Land; and when the pope ascended a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont, his eloquence was addressed to a well-prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shout of thousands, who with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it, God wills it!" "It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope; "and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the devotion and courage of the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark on your breasts or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement." The proposal was joyfully accepted; great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, impressed on their garments the sign of the cross; the pope proclaimed a plenary indulgence to those who should enlist under the sacred banners; and their departure for the Holy Land was fixed to the festival of the Assumption, the 15th of August, of the ensuing year (A.D. 1096).

Departure of the first crusaders: their destruction in Hungary and Asia (A.D. 1096).

§ 3. This day was anticipated by the thoughtless and needy crowd of plebeians; and I shall briefly dispatch the calamities which they inflicted and suffered before I enter on the more serious and successful enterprise of the chiefs. Early in the spring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, above 60,000 of the populace of both sexes flocked round the first missionary of the crusade, and pressed him with clamorous importunity to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The hermit, assuming the character, without the talents or authority, of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. The first party moved under the command of his lieutenant, Walter the Pennyless, a valiant, though needy soldier. He was followed by Peter with 40,000 men; and their rear was pressed by an herd of 200,000, the most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness. In Bulgaria, which they had plundered, great numbers of them were cut to pieces; but the emperor, who respected the pilgrimage and succour of the Latins, conducted them by secure and easy journeys to Constantinople, and advised them to wait the arrival of their brethren. For a while they remembered their faults and losses, but no sooner were they revived by the hospitable entertainment than their venom was again inflamed; they stung their benefactor, and neither gardens nor palaces nor churches were safe from their depredations. For his own safety, Alexius allured them to pass over to the Asiatic side of the Bosporus; but their blind impetuosity soon urged them to desert the station which he had assigned, and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road of Jerusalem. They separated in quest of prey, and themselves

fell an easy prey to the arts of the Sultan. By a rumour that their foremost companions were rioting in the spoils of his capital, Kilij-Arslan, the successor of Soliman, tempted the main body to descend into the plain of Nice; they were overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows, and a pyramid of bones informed their companions of the place of their defeat. Of the first crusaders, 300,000 had already perished before a single city was rescued from the infidels, before their graver and more noble brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprise.

The chiefs of the first crusade.

§ 4. None of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked their persons in the first crusade. The religious ardour was more strongly felt by the princes of the second order, who held an important place in the feudal system. Of the leaders of the first crusade, the first rank both in war and council is justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon, who was accompanied by his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin. The four chief leaders of the French, the Normans, and the Britons, were Hugh, count of Vermandois, surnamed the Great, brother of the king of France; Robert, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror; another Robert, count of Flanders; and Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes. In the south of France the command was assumed by Adhemar, bishop of Puy, the pope's legate, and by Raymond, count of St. Giles and Toulouse, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence. The Normans of the south of Italy were led by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, already famous by his double victory over the Greek emperor; he was accompanied by his cousin * Tancred, in whose accomplished character we discover all the virtues of a perfect knight, the true spirit of chivalry, which was at once an effect and a cause of the crusades.

March of the princes to Constantinople (Aug., A.D. 1096–May, A.D. 1097).

§ 5. As soon as their leaders were relieved by the absence of the plebeian multitude, they encouraged each other, by interviews and messages, to accomplish their vow and hasten their departure. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many myriads of men and horses engaged them to separate their forces; their choice or situation determined the road; and it was agreed to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from thence to begin their operations against the Turks. From the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, Godfrey of Bouillon followed the direct way of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria. After an easy journey through Lombardy, from Turin to Aquileia, Raymond and his provincials marched forty days through the savage country of Dalmatia and Slavonia. His march between Durazzo and Constantinople was harassed, without being stopped, by the peasants and soldiers of the Greek emperor; and the same faint and ambiguous hostility was prepared for the remaining chiefs, who passed the Adriatic

* Nephew. His mother was Robert Guiscard's daughter.

from the coast of Italy. Bohemond had arms and vessels, and foresight and discipline; and his name was not forgotten in the provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. The nobles of France pressed forwards with the vain and thoughtless ardour of which their nation has been sometimes accused. From the Alps to Apulia the march of Hugh the Great, of the two Roberts, and of Stephen of Chartres, through a wealthy country, and amidst the applauding Catholics, was a devout or triumphant progress: they kissed the feet of the Roman pontiff; and the golden standard of St. Peter was delivered to the brother of the French monarch. But in this visit of piety and pleasure they neglected to secure the season and the means of their embarkation: the winter was insensibly lost; their troops were scattered and corrupted in the towns of Italy. They separately accomplished their passage, regardless of safety or dignity; and within nine months of the feast of the Assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached Constantinople. But the count of Vermandois was produced as a captive; his foremost vessels were scattered by a tempest; and his person, against the law of nations, was detained by the lieutenants of Alexius.

Policy of the emperor Alexius Comnenus: he obtains the homage of the crusaders.

§ 6. In some Oriental tale I have read the fable of a shepherd who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water; the Ganges was turned into his grounds, and his flock and cottage were swept away by the inundation. Such was the fortune, or at least the apprehension, of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus. In the council of Placentia his ambassadors had solicited a moderate succour, perhaps of ten thousand soldiers; but he was astonished by the approach of so many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. During the winter Alexius, by his skill and diligence, prevented the union of any two of the confederate armies at the same moment under the walls of Constantinople. On the return of spring (A.D. 1097), Godfrey was persuaded to occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia; and no sooner had he passed the Bosporus than the Greek vessels were suddenly recalled to the opposite shore. The same policy was repeated with the succeeding chiefs, who were swayed by the example, and weakened by the departure, of their foremost companions; and before the feast of the Pentecost not a Latin pilgrim was left on the coast of Europe. Alexius succeeded in extorting from the French princes an oath of homage and fidelity, and a solemn promise that they would either restore, or hold, their Asiatic conquests as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire. Their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude; they successively yielded to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery; the first proselytes became the most eloquent and effectual missionaries to multiply the companions of their shame. The pride of Hugh of Vermandois was soothed by the honours of his captivity; and in the brother of the French

king the example of submission was prevalent and weighty. The best and most ostensible reason was the impossibility of passing the sea and accomplishing their vow without the licence and the vessels of Alexius; but they cherished a secret hope that, as soon as they trod the continent of Asia, their swords would obliterate their shame, and dissolve the engagement which on his side might not be very faithfully performed.

Their review and numbers.

§ 7. The principal force of the crusaders consisted in their cavalry; and when that force was mustered in the plains of Bithynia, the knights and their martial attendants on horseback amounted to 100,000 fighting men, completely armed with the helmet and coat of mail. The value of these soldiers deserved a strict and authentic account; and the flower of European chivalry might furnish, in a first effort, this formidable body of heavy horse. A part of the infantry might be enrolled for the service of scouts, pioneers, and archers; but the promiscuous crowd were lost in their own disorder; and we depend not on the eyes or knowledge, but on the belief and fancy, of a chaplain * of Count Baldwin, in the estimate of 600,000 pilgrims able to bear arms, besides the priests and monks, the women and children, of the Latin camp. Though this number is incredible, yet the myriads that pressed forwards on the holy pilgrimage were a subject of astonishment to themselves and to the Greeks. The ancient hosts of Darius and Xerxes labour under the same doubt of a vague and indefinite magnitude; but I am inclined to believe that a larger number has never been contained within the lines of a single camp than at the siege of Nice, the first operation of the Latin princes. Of their troops, the most numerous portion were natives of France; the Low Countries, the banks of the Rhine, and Apulia sent a powerful reinforcement; some bands of adventurers were drawn from Spain, Lombardy, and England; and from the distant bogs and mountains of Ireland or Scotland issued some naked and savage fanatics, ferocious at home, but unwarlike abroad. Only a small remnant of the pilgrims, who passed the Bosporus, was permitted to visit the holy sepulchre. Their northern constitution was scorched by the rays, and infected by the vapours, of a Syrian sun. They consumed, with heedless prodigality, their stores of water and provision; their numbers exhausted the inland country; the sea was remote, the Greeks were unfriendly, and the Christians of every sect fled before the voracious and cruel rapine of their brethren. In the dire necessity of famine, they sometimes roasted and devoured the flesh of their infant or adult captives. Among the Turks and Saracens, the idolaters of Europe were rendered more odious by the name and reputation of cannibals; the spies, who introduced themselves into the kitchen of Bohemond, were shown several human bodies turning on the spit: and the artful Norman encouraged a report which

* Fulcher of Chartres. His work is of great value for events at Edessa (cf. § 9) and for the kingdom of Jerusalem (cf. § 14).

increased at the same time the abhorrence and the terror of the infidels.

Siege of Nice (May 14–June 19, A.D. 1097).

§ 8. From their first station in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, the crusaders advanced in successive divisions, passed the contracted limit of the Greek empire, and commenced, by the siege of his capital, their pious warfare against the Turkish sultan of Roum.* In the space of seven weeks much labour and blood were expended, and some progress was made on the side of the besiegers. But the Turks could protract their resistance and secure their escape, as long as they were masters of the lake Ascania, which stretches several miles to the westward of the city. The means of conquest were supplied by the prudence and industry of Alexius; a great number of boats was transported on sledges from the sea to the lake; Nice was invested by land and water; and a Greek emissary persuaded the inhabitants to accept his master's protection, and to save themselves, by a timely surrender, from the rage of the savages of Europe. In the moment of victory, or at least of hope, the crusaders, thirsting for blood and plunder, were awed by the Imperial banner that streamed from the citadel; and Alexius guarded with jealous vigilance this important conquest (A.D. 1097, June 19). The murmurs of the chiefs were stifled by honour or interest; and after an halt of nine days they directed their march towards Phrygia. A few miles before they reached Dorylæum† they were attacked by Kilij-Arslan, whose whole force is loosely stated by the Christians at 200,000, or even 360,000 horse. After a hard-fought battle the Turks were defeated (July 1); and the importance of the victory was proved by the hasty retreat of the sultan, who evacuated the kingdom of Roum, and hastened to implore the aid, and kindle the resentment, of his Eastern brethren. In a march of 500 miles the crusaders traversed the Lesser Asia, through a wasted land and deserted towns, without finding either a friend or an enemy.‡ The pilgrims climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of Mount Taurus; many of the soldiers cast away their arms to secure their footsteps; and, had not terror preceded their van, the long and trembling file might have been driven down the precipice by an handful of resolute enemies.

Baldwin founds the principality of Edessa (A.D. 1097–1144).

§ 9. To improve the general consternation,§ Tancred and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, were detached from the main army with their respective squadrons of five and of seven hundred knights. They overran in a rapid career the hills and sea-coast of Cilicia; but the proud injustice of Baldwin at length provoked the patient and generous Italian, and they turned their

* Kilij-Arslan, who reigned A.D. 1092–1106.

† Beside the modern Eski-Sheher.

‡ For the line of march, cf. Anderson in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1897, p. 39 ff.

§ Tancred and Baldwin had separated at Heracleia (Eregli) long before the main army reached the Taurus mountains.

consecrated swords against each other in a private and profane quarrel. Honour was the motive, and fame the reward, of Tancred; but fortune smiled on the more selfish enterprise of his rival. He was called to the assistance of a Greek or Armenian tyrant, who had been suffered under the Turkish yoke to reign over the Christians of Edessa. Baldwin accepted the character of his son and champion, but no sooner was he introduced into the city than he inflamed* the people to the massacre of his father, occupied the throne and treasure, extended his conquests over the hills of Armenia and the plain of Mesopotamia, and founded the first principality of the Franks or Latins, which subsisted forty-seven years beyond the Euphrates (A.D. 1097–1144).

Siege of Antioch (Oct. 21, A.D. 1097–June 3, A.D. 1098).

§ 10. Before the Franks could enter Syria, the summer, and even the autumn, were completely wasted; but it was resolved at once to lay siege to Antioch. Whatever strength and valour could perform in the field was abundantly discharged by the champions of the cross; but in the slow and successive labours of a siege the crusaders were supine and ignorant, without skill to contrive, or money to purchase, or industry to use the artificial engines and implements of assault. At the end of seven months, after the ruin of their cavalry and an enormous loss by famine, desertion, and fatigue, the progress of the crusaders was imperceptible, and their success remote, if the Latin Ulysses, the artful and ambitious Bohemond, had not employed the arms of cunning and deceit. The Christians of Antioch were numerous and discontented: Phirouz, a Syrian renegado, had acquired the favour of the emir and the command of three towers; and the merit of his repentance disguised to the Latins, and perhaps to himself, the foul design of perfidy and treason. A secret correspondence, for their mutual interest, was soon established between Phirouz and the prince of Tarento; and Bohemond declared in the council of the chiefs that he could deliver the city into their hands. But he claimed the sovereignty of Antioch as the reward of his service; and the proposal which had been rejected by the envy, was at length extorted from the distress, of his equals. The nocturnal surprise was executed by the French and Norman princes, who ascended in person the scaling-ladders that were thrown from the walls; their new proselyte embraced and introduced the servants of Christ, the army rushed through the gates, and the Moslems soon found that, although mercy was hopeless, resistance was impotent (A.D. 1098, June 3). But the citadel still refused to surrender, and the victors themselves were speedily encompassed and besieged by the innumerable forces of Kerboga [Karbughā], prince of Mosul, who, with twenty-eight Turkish emirs, advanced to the deliverance of Antioch. Five-and-twenty days the Christians spent on the verge of destruction, and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and

* Consented to the assassination, but did not instigate it, according to the Armenian account.

the sultan left them only the choice of servitude or death. They were reduced to the last extremity by famine and disease; and for their salvation and victory they were indebted to the same fanaticism which had led them to the brink of ruin. Their confidence was revived by the seasonable and splendid discovery of the HOLY LANCE. This pious fraud was concocted by a priest of the diocese of Marseilles, whose name was Peter Bartholemy. He presented himself at the door of the council chamber, to disclose an apparition of St. Andrew, which had been thrice reiterated in his sleep, with a dreadful menace if he presumed to suppress the commands of heaven. "At Antioch," said the apostle, "in the church of my brother St. Peter, near the high altar, is concealed the steel head of the lance that pierced the side of our Redeemer. In three days, that instrument of eternal, and now of temporal, salvation will be manifested to his disciples. Search, and ye shall find; bear it aloft in battle; and that mystic weapon shall penetrate the souls of the miscreants." The revelation was eagerly accepted by Count Raymond, whom his faithful subject, in the name of the apostle, had chosen for the guardian of the holy lance. The experiment was resolved; the head of a Saracen lance was hidden by Bartholemy in the place which he had indicated; and its discovery was saluted with a devout rapture. The holy lance was drawn from its recess, wrapped in a veil of silk and gold, and exposed to the veneration of the crusaders; their anxious suspense burst forth in a general shout of joy and hope, and the desponding troops were again inflamed with the enthusiasm of valour. On the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul the gates of Antioch were thrown open; a martial psalm, "Let the Lord arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" was chaunted by a procession of priests and monks; the holy lance, in the absence of Raymond, was entrusted to the hands of his chaplain; and its potent energy was heightened by an accident, a stratagem, or a rumour, of a miraculous complexion. Three knights, in white garments and resplendent arms, either issued, or seemed to issue, from the hills: the voice of Adhemar, the pope's legate, proclaimed them as the martyrs St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Maurice; the tumult of battle allowed no time for doubt or scrutiny; and the welcome apparition dazzled the eyes or the imagination of a fanatic army. On this memorable day they annihilated or dispersed the hosts of Turks and Arabians, which they might safely report to have consisted of 600,000 men (A.D. 1098, June 28).

Legend of the Holy Lance.

The state of the Turks and caliphs of Egypt.

§ 11. The prudence or fortune of the Franks had delayed their invasion till the decline of the Turkish empire. Under the manly government of the three first sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and justice. But at the time of the crusade, the inheritance of Malek Shah was disputed by his four sons; and, in the vicissitudes of their fortune, the royal vassals were ignorant, or regardless, of the true object of their allegiance. The twenty-eight emirs who marched with the standard of

Kerboga were his rivals or enemies; their hasty levies were drawn from the towns and tents of Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Turkish veterans were employed or consumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord to recover his ancient possessions; and his sultan Aphdal besieged Jerusalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Ortok, and restored in Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites. They heard with astonishment of the vast armies of Christians that had passed from Europe to Asia, and rejoiced in the sieges and battles which broke the power of the Turks, the adversaries of their sect and monarchy. But the same Christians were the enemies of the prophet; and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch the motive of their enterprise, which was gradually understood, would urge them forwards to the banks of the Jordan, or perhaps of the Nile. An intercourse of epistles and embassies, which rose and fell with the events of war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins. But the answer of the crusaders was firm and uniform: they disdained to inquire into the private claims or possessions of the followers of Mahomet: whatsoever was *his* name or *nation*, the usurper of Jerusalem was their enemy; and *it* was only by a timely surrender of the city and province, their sacred *right*, that he could deserve their alliance or deprecate their impending and irresistible attack.

§ 12. Yet this attack, when they were within the view and reach of their glorious prize, was suspended above ten months after the defeat of Kerboga. The winter was consumed in discord and disorder; a sense of honour and religion was rekindled in the spring; and the private soldiers, less susceptible of ambition and jealousy, awakened with angry clamours the indolence of their chiefs. In the month of May the relics of this mighty host proceeded from Antioch to Laodicea; about 40,000 Latins, of whom no more than 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot were capable of immediate service. Their easy march was continued between Mount Libanus and the sea-shore; their wants were liberally supplied by the coasting traders of Genoa and Pisa; and they drew large contributions from the emirs of Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Cæsarea, who granted a free passage and promised to follow the example of Jerusalem. From Cæsarea they advanced into the midland country, and encamped at length under the walls of Jerusalem. By the experience of a recent siege, and a three years' possession, the Saracens of Egypt had been taught to discern, and in some degree to remedy, the defects of a place which religion as well as honour forbade them to resign. Aladin, or Iftikhar, the caliph's lieutenant, was entrusted with the defence; and his garrison is said to have consisted of 40,000 Turks and Arabians; and if he could muster 20,000 of the inhabitants, it must be confessed that the besieged were more numerous than the besieging

Siege and conquest of Jerusalem (June 7–July 15, A.D. 1099).

army. Had the diminished strength and numbers of the Latins allowed them to grasp the whole circumference of 4000 yards (about two English miles and a half),* to what useful purpose should they have descended into the valley of Ben Hinnom and torrent of Kedron, or approached the precipices of the south and east, from whence they had nothing either to hope or fear? Their siege was more reasonably directed against the northern and western sides of the city. Godfrey of Bouillon erected his standard on the first swell of Mount Calvary; to the left, as far as St. Stephen's gate, the line of attack was continued by Tancred and the two Roberts; and Count Raymond established his quarters from the citadel to the foot of Mount Sion, which was no longer included within the precincts of the city. The siege lasted forty days, but they were forty days of calamity and anguish. A repetition of the old complaint of famine may be imputed in some degree to the voracious or disorderly appetite of the Franks; but the stony soil of Jerusalem is almost destitute of water; the scanty springs and hasty torrents were dry in the summer season; nor was the thirst of the besiegers relieved, as in the city, by the artificial supply of cisterns and aqueducts. The circumjacent country is equally destitute of trees for the uses of shade or building; but some large beams were discovered in a cave by the crusaders; a wood near Sichem, the enchanted grove of Tasso, was cut down: the necessary timber was transported to the camp by the vigour and dexterity of Tancred; and the engines were framed by some Genoese artists, who had fortunately landed in the harbour of Jaffa. Two moveable turrets were constructed at the expense, and in the stations, of the duke of Lorraine, and the count of Toulouse, and rolled forwards to the most neglected parts of the fortification. Raymond's tower was reduced to ashes by the fire of the besieged, but his colleague was more vigilant and successful; the enemies were driven by his archers from the rampart; the drawbridge was let down; and on a Friday, at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem (A.D. 1099, July 15). His example was followed on every side by the emulation of valour; and about 460 years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke. A bloody sacrifice was offered by his mistaken votaries to the God of the Christians: they indulged themselves seven days in a promiscuous massacre; and 70,000 Moslems were put to the sword. The holy sepulchre was now free; and the bloody victors prepared to accomplish their vow. Bareheaded and barefoot, with contrite hearts, and in an humble posture, they ascended the hill of Calvary, amidst the loud anthems of the clergy; kissed the stone which had covered the Saviour of the world; and

* Sir C. W. Wilson reckons about twenty-five *stadia* (or rather less than three English miles) as against the thirty-three *stadia* of Josephus (art. *Jerusalem* in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*).

bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption.

Election and reign of Godfrey of Bouillon (A.D. 1099–1100).

§ 13. Eight days after this memorable event, which pope Urban did not live to hear, the Latin chiefs proceeded to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conquests in Palestine. Hugh the Great and Stephen of Chartres had retired with some loss of reputation, which they strove to regain by a second crusade and an honourable death. Baldwin was established at Edessa, and Bohemond at Antioch; and the two Roberts, the duke of Normandy and the count of Flanders, preferred their fair inheritance in the West to a doubtful competition or a barren sceptre. Raymond declined all open pretensions to the crown, and the free, the just, the unanimous voice of the army proclaimed Godfrey of Bouillon the first and most worthy of the champions of Christendom. His magnanimity accepted a trust as full of danger as of glory; but in a city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns, the devout pilgrim rejected the name and ensigns of royalty; and the founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem contented himself with the modest title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. His government of a single year (A.D. 1099–1100), too short for the public happiness, was interrupted in the first fortnight by a summons to the field, by the approach of the vizir or sultan of Egypt, who had been too slow to prevent, but who was impatient to avenge, the loss of Jerusalem. His total overthrow in the battle of Ascalon sealed the establishment of the Latins in Syria, and signalized the valour of the French princes, who in this action bade a long farewell to the holy wars. After suspending before the holy sepulchre the sword and standard of the sultan, the new king (he deserves the title) embraced his departing companions, and could retain only with the gallant Tancred 300 knights, and 2000 foot soldiers, for the defence of Palestine.

The kingdom of Jerusalem (A.D. 1099–1187).

§ 14. The infant kingdom of Godfrey consisted only of Jerusalem and Jaffa, with about twenty villages and towns of the adjacent country. Within this narrow verge the Mahometans were still lodged in some impregnable castles; and the husbandman, the trader, and the pilgrims were exposed to daily and domestic hostility. By the arms of Godfrey himself, and of the two Baldwins, his brother and cousin, who succeeded to the throne, the Latins breathed with more ease and safety; and at length they equalled, in the extent of their dominions, the ancient princes of Judah and Israel. After the reduction of the maritime cities of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, and Ascalon, which were powerfully assisted by the fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and even of Flanders and Norway, the range of sea-coast from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt was possessed by the Christian pilgrims. If the prince of Antioch disclaimed his supremacy, the counts of Edessa and Tripoli owned themselves the vassals of the king of Jerusalem: the Latins reigned beyond

the Euphrates; and the four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo were the only relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria. The laws and language, the manners and titles, of the French nation and Latin church, were introduced into these transmarine colonies. The whole legal militia of the kingdom could not exceed 11,000 men, a slender defence against the surrounding myriads of Saracens and Turks; but the firmest bulwark of Jerusalem was founded on the knights of the Hospital of St. John, and of the temple of Solomon; on the strange association of a monastic and military life, which fanaticism might suggest, but which policy must approve. The flower of the nobility of Europe aspired to wear the cross, and to profess the vows, of these respectable orders; their spirit and discipline were immortal; and the speedy donation of 28,000 farms, or manors, enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry for the defence of Palestine. The austerity of the convent soon evaporated in the exercise of arms; the world was scandalized by the pride, avarice, and corruption of these Christian soldiers; their claims of immunity and jurisdiction disturbed the harmony of the church and state; and the public peace was endangered by their jealous emulation. But in their most dissolute period the knights of the hospital and temple maintained their fearless and fanatic character; they neglected to live, but they were prepared to die, in the service of Christ; and the spirit of chivalry, the parent and offspring of the crusades, was transplanted by this institution from the holy sepulchre to the isle of Malta.

Assise of Jerusalem.

§ 15. The laws which regulated the new kingdom were contained in the ASSISE OF JERUSALEM, a precious monument of feudal jurisprudence. No sooner had Godfrey of Bouillon accepted the office of supreme magistrate than he solicited the public and private advice of the Latin pilgrims who were the best skilled in the statutes and customs of Europe. From these materials, with the counsel and approbation of the patriarch and barons, of the clergy and laity, he composed the new code, which was deposited in the holy sepulchre, enriched with the improvements of succeeding times, and respectfully consulted as often as any doubtful question arose in the tribunals of Palestine. With the kingdom and city all was lost; the fragments of the written law were preserved by jealous tradition and variable practice till the middle of the thirteenth century: the code was restored by the pen of John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa, one of the principal feudatories; and the final revision was accomplished in the year 1369 for the use of the Latin kingdom of Cyprus.*

* This account of the history of the *Assises* is no longer accepted by scholars. Not only did Godfrey not draw up the code which has come down to us, but he did not use any written law at all. The story that it was lost at the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin (A.D. 1187) is a fiction: the Christians were allowed ample time to carry off all their

Supplement to the first crusade (A.D. 1101).

§ 16. Two years after the capture of Jerusalem a host of soldiers and pilgrims from Lombardy, France, and Germany followed in the footsteps of the first crusaders. This expedition is only a supplement to the first crusade, and may be dismissed in a few words. Soon after the capture of Jerusalem, a swarm of pilgrims moved forward under the command of several princes, among whom were the veteran crusaders, Hugh the Great and Stephen of Chartres (A.D. 1101). They marched in two columns, and if the first consisted of 260,000 persons, the second might possibly amount to 60,000 horse and 100,000 foot. These swarms were destroyed in Anatolia by famine, pestilence, and the Turkish arrows; and the princes only escaped with some squadrons of horse to accomplish their lamentable pilgrimage.

Success of Alexius (A.D. 1097–1118).

§ 17. The emperor Alexius may be compared to the jackal, who is said to follow the steps, and to devour the leavings, of the lion. Whatever had been his fears and toils in the passage of the first crusade, they were amply recompensed by the subsequent benefits which he derived from the exploits of the Franks. His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice, and from this threatening station the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople. While the crusaders, with blind valour, advanced into the midland countries of Asia, the crafty Greek improved the favourable occasion when the emirs of the sea-coast were recalled to the standard of the sultan. The Turks were driven from the isles of Rhodes and Chios: the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were restored to the empire, which Alexius enlarged from the Hellespont to the banks of the Mæander and the rocky shores of Pamphylia. It does not appear that the emperor attempted to revive his obsolete claims over the kingdom of Jerusalem, but the borders of Cilicia and Syria were more recent in his possession, and more accessible to his arms. The great army of the crusaders was annihilated or dispersed; the principality of Antioch was left without a head by the surprise and captivity of Bohemond; his ransom had oppressed him with a heavy debt, and his Norman followers were insufficient to repel the hostilities of the Greeks and Turks. In this distress Bohemond embraced a magnanimous resolution of leaving the defence of Antioch to his kinsman the faithful Tancred, of arming the West against the Byzantine empire, and of executing the design which he inherited from the lessons and example of his father Guiscard. His reception in France

treasures. The truth is that the law in accordance with which the kings dispensed justice was merely customary law, which they themselves gradually built up; and this unwritten code was set down in writing by Ibelin in the middle of the thirteenth century. [See especially G. Dodu, *Histoire des Institutions monarchiques dans le royaume Latin de Jérusalem* (1894); Stubbs, Introduction to *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi;* and other writers mentioned in the Bibliography at the end of this chapter.]

was dignified by the public applause and his marriage with the king's daughter; and he repassed the Adriatic at the head of 5000 horse and 40,000 foot, assembled from the most remote climates of Europe. The strength of Durazzo and prudence of Alexius, the progress of famine and approach of winter, eluded his ambitious hopes, and the venal confederates were seduced from his standard. A treaty of peace suspended the fears of the Greeks, and they were finally delivered by the death of an adversary whom neither oaths could bind nor dangers could appal nor prosperity could satiate. His children succeeded to the principality of Antioch; but the boundaries were strictly defined, the homage was clearly stipulated, and the cities of Tarsus and Malmistra * were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia, they possessed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian dynasty of Roum was separated on all sides from the sea and their Musulman brethren; the power of the sultans was shaken by the victories and even the defeats of the Franks; and after the loss of Nice they removed their throne to Konia or Iconium, an obscure and inland town above 300 miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

The SECOND CRUSADE of Conrad III. and Louis VII. (A.D. 1147): conquests of the Atabeks of Syria.

§ 18. II. *Second Crusade* (A.D. 1147–1149).—The dangers of the Latins in Asia, and the preaching of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, were the causes of the second crusade. The Seljukian sultans had followed the common law of the Asiatic dynasties, the unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay; their spirit and power were unequal to the defence of religion, and the pious task was undertaken by their slaves, the Atabeks, a Turkish name, which may be translated by Father of the Prince.† Several powerful emirs at the court of the Seljuks received this title, but the most distinguished was Zenghi, the governor of Aleppo, which he at length erected into an independent principality (A.D. 1127–1146). He first proved his arms against the Franks in the defeat of Antioch; thirty campaigns in the service of the caliph and sultan established his military fame; and he was invested with the command of Mosul, as the only champion that could avenge the cause of the prophet. The public hope was not disappointed: after a siege of twenty-five days he stormed the city of Edessa, and recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Euphrates, and the martial tribes of Curdistan were subdued by the independent sovereign of Mosul and Aleppo.‡ His son Noureddin § (A.D.

* *I.e.* Mopsuestia, the modern Missis (Arabic, Massīsa), on the river Jihun (Pyramos).

† See *note* on ch. xxxii. § 5 (p. 209).

‡ On Zengī Imād-ed-dīn ("Pillar of the Faith"), the forerunner of Saladin, see S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, cc. iii., iv.

§ Nūr-ed-dīn ("Light of the Faith") Mahmūd; cf. *Saladin*, p. 67 ff.

1146–1174) gradually united the Mahometan powers, added the kingdom of Damascus to that of Aleppo, and waged a long and successful war against the Christians of Syria; he spread his ample reign from the Tigris to the Nile, and the Abbassides rewarded their faithful servant with all the titles and prerogatives of royalty.

St. Bernard preaches the second crusade.

§ 19. The fall of Edessa and the conquests of the Atabeks made the nations of Europe tremble for the safety of their Latin brethren. Their zeal was kindled by the voice of St. Bernard, who in speech, in writing, in action, stood high above his rivals and contemporaries. This remarkable man was born about eight years before the first conquest of Jerusalem, of a noble family in Burgundy; at the age of twenty-three he buried himself in the monastery of Citeaux, then in the primitive fervour of the institution; at the end of two years he led forth her third colony, or daughter, to the valley of Clairvaux in Champagne; and was content, till the hour of his death, with the humble station of abbot of his own community. By a vow of poverty and penance, by closing his eyes against the visible world, by the refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities, the abbot of Clairvaux became the oracle of Europe and the founder of 160 convents. In the proclamation of the second crusade he shone as the missionary and prophet of God, who called the nations to the defence of his holy sepulchre. At the parliament of Vézelay he spoke before the king; and Louis VII., with his nobles, received their crosses from his hand. The abbot of Clairvaux then marched to the less easy conquest of the emperor Conrad: a phlegmatic people, ignorant of his language, was transported by the pathetic vehemence of his tone and gestures; and his progress from Constance to Cologne was the triumph of eloquence and zeal. Bernard applauds his own success in the depopulation of Europe, and affirms that cities and castles were emptied of their inhabitants. The cavalry of the emperor and that of the king was each composed of 70,000 knights and their immediate attendants in the field; and if the light-armed troops, the peasant infantry, the women and children, the priests and monks, be rigorously excluded, the full account will scarcely be satisfied with 400,000 souls. The West, from Rome to Britain, was called into action; the kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the summons of Conrad; and it is affirmed by the Greeks and Latins that, in the passage of a strait or river, the Byzantine agents, after a tale of 900,000, desisted from the endless and formidable computation.

March of the second crusaders: their failure.

§ 20. The armies of the second crusade were sufficient to claim the conquest of Asia, but they were almost entirely destroyed without accomplishing any object worthy of their enterprise. Their misfortunes commenced in their passage through the Byzantine empire. The Greek emperors no longer dreaded the distant sultan of Iconium; and Manuel Comnenus, who then occupied the Byzantine throne, viewed with

apprehension the approach of these swarms of Western barbarians, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety, of the empire. It was secretly, and perhaps tacitly, resolved by the prince and people to destroy, or at least to discourage, the pilgrims by every species of injury and oppression. The Western monarchs had stipulated a safe passage and fair market in the country of their Christian brethren; but every engagement was violated by treachery and injustice. Instead of an hospitable reception, the gates of the cities, both in Europe and Asia, were closely barred against the crusaders; the scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls; and the bread was poisoned by a mixture of chalk or other noxious ingredients. In every step of their march they were stopped or misled: the governors had private orders to fortify the passes and break down the bridges against them: the stragglers were pillaged and murdered; the soldiers and horses were pierced in the woods by arrows from an invisible hand; the sick were burnt in their beds; and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the highways. These injuries exasperated the champions of the cross, who were not endowed with evangelical patience; and the Byzantine princes, who had provoked the unequal conflict, promoted the embarkation and march of these formidable guests. The Germans crossed over the Bosporus first;* and, without waiting for the French, Conrad, with half the German forces, took the road to Iconium; whilst the other half, under the command of Bishop Otto of Freisingen, chose the route along the coast. After a slow and laborious march of eleven days, the emperor's army, weakened by hunger and disease, was attacked by an host of Turkish cavalry several days' journey south of Dorylæum and compelled to a disastrous retreat, during which thousands were slain or taken prisoners. Conrad himself was wounded, and only a handful of his followers made their way back with him to Nicæa. The division under Otto met with no better fortune: led into an ambush amongst the hills on the south of Laodicea, it was almost entirely annihilated by the Turks, and but a poor remnant made good its escape to the borders of Syria. Without studying the lessons of experience, Louis advanced through the same country to a similar fate. He had not gone far when he received intelligence of Conrad's defeat, and he determined to await the arrival of the returning emperor and his decimated army. The united force then advanced southwards by the route of Smyrna and Ephesus; but at the latter city Conrad was overtaken by illness and returned to Constantinople, where he borrowed some Greek vessels to execute by sea the pilgrimage of Palestine. Louis proceeded on his way, but after forcing the passage of the Mæander against the assembled Turks, he was defeated with great loss near the scene of Otto's disaster and, instead of

* Gibbon's text has had to be considerably altered in the following account of the various marches.

pursuing his expedition by land, was rejoiced to shelter the relics of his army in the friendly seaport of Satalia (Attaleia). From thence he embarked for Antioch; but so penurious was the supply of Greek vessels that they could only afford room for his knights and nobles; and the plebeian crowd of infantry was left to perish at the foot of the Pamphylian hills. The emperor and the king embraced and wept at Jerusalem; their martial trains, the remnant of mighty armies, were joined to the Christian powers of Syria, and a fruitless siege of Damascus was the final effort of the second crusade. Conrad and Louis embarked for Europe with the personal fame of piety and courage; but the Orientals had braved these potent monarchs of the Franks, with whose names and military forces they had been so often threatened.

THIRD CRUSADE: conquest of Egypt by the Turks: end of the Fatimite caliphs.

§ 21. III. *Third Crusade* (A.D. 1189–1192).—The capture of Jerusalem by the celebrated Saladin was the cause of the third crusade. The Fatimite caliphs in Egypt had become the slaves of their vizirs, who usurped the supreme administration of Egypt. The claims of the rival candidates were decided by arms; and the weaker side implored the dangerous protection of the sultan of Damascus, or the king of Jerusalem, the perpetual enemies of the sect and monarchy of the Fatimites. The secret zeal and ambition of Noureddin aspired to reign in Egypt under the name of the Abbassides; but the restoration of a suppliant vizir was the ostensible motive of the first expedition; and the success was entrusted to the emir Shiracouh [Shīrkūh], a Curd by birth, and a valiant and veteran commander. In three successive expeditions Shiracouh became master of Egypt. By the command of Noureddin, the Fatimites were deposed: the caliph Mostadi, of Bagdad, was acknowledged in the public prayers as the true commander of the faithful; and the green livery of the sons of Ali was exchanged for the black colour of the Abbassides (A.D. 1171).

Reign and character of Saladin (A.D. 1171–1193).

§ 22. Shiracouh had been accompanied in his conquest of Egypt by his nephew Saladin, the son of Ayub or Job.* On the death of his uncle, the office of grand vizir was bestowed on Saladin, as the youngest and least powerful of the emirs; but his genius obtained the ascendant over his equals, and attached the army to his person and interest. While Noureddin lived, Saladin professed himself his humble slave; but the seasonable death of the sultan relieved the ambitious Curd from this ambiguous service; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title that could sanctify his usurpation in the eyes of the people. Nor was Saladin long content with the possession of Egypt; he despoiled the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Atabeks of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbekir; Mecca

* Saladin (Salah-ed-din) is a surname: his real name was Yūsuf (Joseph). His full title was Al-Malik en-Nāsir Salāh-ed-dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, "The Victorious King, Redresser of the Faith, Joseph son of Job." The best account of his life is that of Stanley Lane-Poole (already cited).

and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector; his brother subdued the distant regions of Yemen, or the happy Arabia; and at the hour of his death his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. Saladin was brave, temperate, and chaste; his garment was a coarse woollen, and water was his only drink. In faith and practice he was a rigid Musulman, and his perusal of the Koran on horseback, between the approaching armies, may be quoted as a proof, however ostentatious, of piety and courage. The justice of his divan was accessible to the meanest suppliant against himself and his ministers; his liberality was unbounded, and the wealthy citizens enjoyed, without fear or danger, the fruits of their industry. In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic, the genuine virtues of Saladin commanded the esteem of the Christians; the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendship; the Greek emperor solicited his alliance; and the conquest of Jerusalem diffused, and perhaps magnified, his fame both in the East and West.

Conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin (A.D. 1187).

§ 23. During its short existence, the kingdom of Jerusalem was supported by the discord of the Turks and Saracens. But the powers of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia were now united by an hero whom nature and fortune had armed against the Christians. All without now bore the most threatening aspect; and all was feeble and hollow in the internal state of Jerusalem. After the two first Baldwins, the brother and cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the sceptre devolved by female succession to Melisenda, daughter of the second Baldwin, and her husband Fulk, Count of Anjou, the father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets. Their two sons, Baldwin III. and Amalric, or Amaury, waged a strenuous, and not unsuccessful, war against the infidels; but the son of Amalric, Baldwin IV., was deprived by the leprosy, a gift of the crusades, of the faculties both of mind and body. His sister Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin V., was his natural heiress; after the suspicious death of her child, she crowned her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of base renown. Such were the guardians of the holy city: a leper, a child, a woman, and a coward. In A.D. 1187 Saladin at the head of 80,000 horse and foot invaded the Holy Land. Guy of Lusignan marched to encounter the invader, but was defeated at the battle of Tiberias [or Hattīn], with the loss of 30,000 men, and fell into the hands of the conqueror. The kingdom was left without a head; and of the two grand masters of the military orders, the one was slain and the other was a prisoner. From all the cities, both of the sea-coast and the inland country, the garrisons had been drawn away for this fatal field. Tyre and Tripoli alone could escape the rapid inroad of Saladin; and three months after the battle of Tiberias he appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem. Some feeble and hasty efforts were made for the defence of the holy city; but in the space of fourteen days a victorious army drove back

the sallies of the besieged, planted their engines, opened the wall to the breadth of fifteen cubits, applied their scaling-ladders, and erected on the breach twelve banners of the prophet and the sultan. A desperate and successful struggle of the Franks admonished the sultan that his triumph was not yet secure; he listened with reverence to a solemn adjuration in the name of the common Father of mankind; and consented to accept the city and to spare the inhabitants. The Greek and Oriental Christians were permitted to live under his dominion; but it was stipulated that in forty days all the Franks and Latins should evacuate Jerusalem and be safely conducted to the sea-ports of Syria and Egypt. After Jerusalem had been delivered from the presence of the strangers, the sultan made his triumphant entry, and the great mosque of Omar, which had been converted into a church, was again consecrated to one God and his prophet Mahomet (A.D. 1187).

Siege of Acre (A.D. 1189–1191).

§ 24. The nations might fear and hope the immediate and final expulsion of the Latins from Syria, which was yet delayed above a century after the death of Saladin. In the career of victory he was first checked by the resistance of Tyre; the troops and garrisons, which had capitulated, were imprudently conducted to the same port: their numbers were adequate to the defence of the place; and the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat inspired the disorderly crowd with confidence and union. The Egyptian fleet was allowed to enter the harbour of Tyre; but the chain was suddenly drawn, and five galleys were either sunk or taken; a thousand Turks were slain in a sally; and Saladin, after burning his engines, concluded a glorious campaign by a disgraceful retreat to Damascus (A.D. 1188). He was soon assailed by a more formidable tempest. The pathetic narratives, and even the pictures, that represented in lively colours the servitude and profanation of Jerusalem, awakened the torpid sensibility of Europe: the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and the kings of France and England, Philip Augustus and Richard I., assumed the cross; and the tardy magnitude of their armaments was anticipated by the maritime states of the Mediterranean and the Ocean. The skilful and provident Italians first embarked in the ships of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. They were speedily followed by the most eager pilgrims of France, Normandy, and the Western Isles. Their increasing multitudes could no longer be confined within the walls of Tyre, or remain obedient to the voice of Conrad. They pitied the misfortunes and revered the dignity of Lusignan, who was released from prison, perhaps to divide the army of the Franks. He proposed the recovery of Ptolemais, or Acre, thirty miles to the south of Tyre; and the place was first invested by 2000 horse and 30,000 foot under his nominal command. I shall not expatiate on the story of this memorable siege, which lasted near two years (A.D. 1189–1191), and consumed, in a narrow space, the forces of Europe and Asia. Never did the flame of enthusiasm burn

with fiercer and more destructive rage. At the sound of the holy trumpet the Moslems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces assembled under the servant of the prophet: his camp was pitched and removed within a few miles of Acre; and he laboured night and day for the relief of his brethren and the annoyance of the Franks. Nine battles, not unworthy of the name, were fought in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, with such vicissitude of fortune that in more than one attack the sultan forced his way into the city; that in one sally the Christians penetrated to the royal tent. At length, in the spring of the second year, the royal fleets of France and England cast anchor in the bay of Acre, and the siege was more vigorously prosecuted by the youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip Augustus and Richard Plantagenet. After every resource had been tried, and every hope was exhausted, the defenders of Acre submitted to their fate; a capitulation was granted, but their lives and liberties were taxed at the hard conditions of a ransom of 200,000 pieces of gold, the deliverance of 100 nobles and 1500 inferior captives, and the restoration of the wood of the holy cross. By the conquest of Acre the Latin powers acquired a strong town and a convenient harbour; but the advantage was most dearly purchased. More than 100,000 Christians were slain during the siege, and a far greater number was lost by disease or shipwreck.

March and death of Frederic Barbarossa.

§ 25. Frederic Barbarossa had marched by land through the Byzantine dominions; but the emperor Isaac Angelus used every effort to thwart his progress, and his troops were exposed to the same sufferings and misfortunes as the second crusaders had experienced by the secret orders of Manuel Comnenus. Frederic surmounted these obstacles, and crossed over to Asia in safety. But as soon as he lost sight of Philadelphia and Laodicea, the last cities of the Greek frontier, he plunged into the salt and barren desert, a land (says the historian) of horror and tribulation. During twenty days every step of his fainting and sickly march was besieged by the innumerable hordes of Turkmans, whose numbers and fury seemed after each defeat to multiply and inflame. The emperor continued to struggle and to suffer; and such was the measure of his calamities that when he reached the gates of Iconium no more than 1000 knights were able to serve on horseback. By a sudden and resolute assault he defeated the guards, and stormed the capital, of the sultan, who humbly sued for pardon and peace. The road was now open, and Frederic advanced in a career of triumph till he was unfortunately drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia * (A.D. 1190). The remainder of his Germans was consumed by sickness and desertion; and the emperor's son expired, with the greatest part of his Swabian vassals, at the siege of Acre.

§ 26. Philip Augustus and Richard I. are the only kings of

* The Calycadnus (Geuk Su). His troops reached Syria by different routes (see the map facing p. 240).

France and England who have fought under the same banners; but the holy service in which they were enlisted was incessantly disturbed by their national jealousy; and the two factions which they protected in Palestine were more averse to each other than to the common enemy. In the eyes of the Orientals the French monarch was superior in dignity and power; and, in the emperor's absence, the Latins revered him as their temporal chief. His exploits were not adequate to his fame. Philip was brave, but the statesman predominated in his character; he was soon weary of sacrificing his health and interest on a barren coast: the surrender of Acre became the signal of his departure; nor could he justify this unpopular desertion by leaving the duke of Burgundy, with 500 knights and 10,000 foot, for the service of the Holy Land. The king of England, though inferior in dignity, surpassed his rival in wealth and military renown; and if heroism be confined to brutal and ferocious valour, Richard Plantagenet will stand high among the heroes of the age. The memory of *Cœur de Lion*, of the lion-hearted prince, was long dear and glorious to his English subjects; and at the distance of sixty years it was celebrated in proverbial sayings by the grandsons of the Turks and Saracens against whom he had fought: his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if a horse suddenly started from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dost thou think king Richard is in that bush?" After the surrender of Acre and the departure of Philip, the king of England led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea-coast; and the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan. A march of 100 miles from Acre to Ascalon was a great and perpetual battle of eleven days. The progress of the crusaders was irresistible; and it was only by demolishing the walls and buildings of Ascalon that the sultan could prevent them from occupying an important fortress on the confines of Egypt. During a severe winter the armies slept; but in the spring the Franks advanced within a day's march of Jerusalem, under the leading standard of the English king. Saladin had fixed his station in the holy city; but the city was struck with consternation and discord; and his Mamalukes, who remembered the fate of their companions at Acre, pressed the sultan to reserve *his* person and *their* courage for the future defence of the religion and empire. The Moslems were delivered by the sudden, or, as they deemed, the miraculous, retreat of the Christians; and the laurels of Richard were blasted by the prudence, or envy, of his companions. The hero, ascending a hill, and veiling his face, exclaimed with an indignant voice, "Those who are unwilling to rescue, are unworthy to view, the sepulchre of Christ!"

Richard of England in Palestine (A.D. 1191–1192).

During these hostilities a languid and tedious negotiation between the Franks and Moslems was started, and continued, and broken. The health both of Richard and Saladin appeared

His treaty and departure (A.D. 1192): death of Saladin (A.D. 1193).

to be in a declining state ; and they respectively suffered the evils of distant and domestic warfare : Plantagenet was impatient to punish a perfidious rival who had invaded Normandy in his absence ; and the indefatigable sultan was subdued by the cries of the people, who was the victim, and of the soldiers, who were the instruments, of his martial zeal. The final agreement was equally disapproved by the zealots of both parties, by the Roman pontiff and the caliph of Bagdad. It was stipulated that Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre should be open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrimage of the Latin Christians ; that, after the demolition of Ascalon, they should inclusively possess the sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre ; that the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch should be comprised in the truce ; and that, during three years and three months, all hostilities should cease (A.D. 1192). Richard embarked for Europe, to seek a long captivity and a premature grave ; and the space of a few months concluded the life and glories of Saladin (A.D. 1193). The unity of empire was dissolved by his death ; his sons were oppressed by the stronger arm of their uncle Saphadin ; * the hostile interests of the sultans of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo were again revived ; and the Franks or Latins stood, and breathed, and hoped, in their fortresses along the Syrian coast.

FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES.

§ 27. IV., V. *Fourth and Fifth Crusades* (A.D. 1203 and 1218). —The noblest monument of a conqueror's fame, and of the terror which he inspired, is the Saladine tenth, a general tax, which was imposed on the laity, and even the clergy, of the Latin church for the service of the holy war. The practice was too lucrative to expire with the occasion ; and this tribute became the foundation of all the tithes and tenths on ecclesiastical benefices which have been granted by the Roman pontiffs to Catholic sovereigns, or reserved for the immediate use of the apostolic see. This pecuniary emolument must have tended to increase the interest of the popes in the recovery of Palestine ; after the death of Saladin they preached the crusade by their epistles, their legates, and their missionaries ; and the accomplishment of the pious work might have been expected from the zeal and talents of Innocent III. At his voice two crusades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken ; but, except a king of Hungary, the princes of the second order were at the head of the pilgrims ; the forces were inadequate to the design, nor did the effects correspond with the hopes and wishes of the pope and the people. The fourth crusade (A.D. 1203) was diverted from Syria to Constantinople ; and the conquest of the Greek or Roman empire by the Latins will form the proper and important subject of the next chapter. In the fifth (A.D. 1218), 200,000 Franks were landed at the eastern mouth of the Nile. They reasonably hoped that Palestine must be subdued in Egypt, the seat and storehouse of the sultan; and after a siege of sixteen months the Moslems deplored the loss of Damietta. But the Christian

* Sayf-ed-din.

army was ruined by the pride and insolence of the legate Pelagius, who, in the pope's name, assumed the character of general; the sickly Franks were encompassed by the waters of the Nile and the Oriental forces; and it was by the evacuation of Damietta that they obtained a safe retreat, some concessions for the pilgrims, and the tardy restitution of the doubtful relic of the true cross.

The emperor Frederic II. in Palestine (A.D. 1228).

§ 28. Frederic II., the grandson of Barbarossa, was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the church. At the age of twenty-one years, and in obedience to his guardian Innocent III., he assumed the cross; the same promise was repeated at his royal and imperial coronations, and his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem for ever bound him to defend the kingdom of his son Conrad. But as Frederic advanced in age and authority, he repented of the rash engagements of his youth; he no longer entertained the same reverence for the successors of Innocent; and his ambition was occupied by the restoration of the Italian monarchy from Sicily to the Alps. But the success of this project would have reduced the popes to their primitive simplicity, and, after the delays and excuses of twelve years, they urged the emperor, with entreaties and threats, to fix the time and place of his departure for Palestine. He at length sailed from Brundusium, with a fleet and army of 40,000 men; but he kept the sea no more than three days, and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed by his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience. For suspending his vow Frederic was excommunicated by Gregory IX.; for presuming, the next year, to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same pope. While he served under the banner of the cross, a crusade was preached against him in Italy; and after his return he was compelled to ask pardon for the injuries which he had suffered. But he accomplished the objects of the crusade without bloodshed; and the advantageous peace which he concluded may be imputed to the discord of the Mahometans, and their personal esteem for the character of Frederic. He entered Jerusalem in triumph, and with his own hands (for no priest would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the holy sepulchre (A.D. 1228). Frederic obtained from the sultan the restitution not only of Jerusalem, but also of Bethlehem and Nazareth, of Tyre and Sidon; the Latins were allowed to inhabit and fortify the city; an equal code of civil and religious freedom was ratified for the sectaries of Jesus and those of Mahomet; and, while the former worshipped at the holy sepulchre, the latter might pray and preach in the mosque of the temple. The clergy deplored this scandalous toleration, but every rational object of the crusades was accomplished without bloodshed; the churches were restored, the monasteries were replenished, and, in the space of fifteen years, the Latins of Jerusalem exceeded the number of 6000. This peace and

prosperity, for which they were ungrateful to their benefactor, was terminated by the irruption of the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians. Flying from the arms of the Mongols, those shepherds of the Caspian rolled headlong on Syria; and the union of the Franks with the sultans of Aleppo, Hems, and Damascus was insufficient to stem the violence of the torrent. Whatever stood against them was cut off by the sword or dragged into captivity; the military orders were almost exterminated in a single battle; and in the pillage of the city, in the profanation of the holy sepulchre, the Latins confess and regret the modesty and discipline of the Turks and Saracens (A.D. 1243–1244).

St. Louis and the SIXTH CRUSADE: his captivity in Egypt (A.D. 1250).

§ 29. VI. *Sixth Crusade* (A.D. 1249–1254).—Of the seven crusades, the two last were undertaken by Louis IX., king of France, who lost his liberty in Egypt, and his life on the coast of Africa. Twenty-eight years after his death he was canonized at Rome. He united the virtues of a king, an hero, and a man; his martial spirit was tempered by the love of private and public justice; and Louis was the father of his people, the friend of his neighbours, and the terror of the infidels. For the invasion of Egypt, France was exhausted of her troops and treasures; he covered the sea of Cyprus with 1800 sails; and the most modest enumeration amounts to 50,000 men. The strong city of Damietta, which had cost his predecessors a siege of sixteen months, was abandoned on the first assault by the trembling Moslems. But Damietta was the first and the last of his conquests; and in the fifth and sixth crusades the same causes, almost on the same ground, were productive of similar calamities. After a ruinous delay, which introduced into the camp the seeds of an epidemical disease, the Franks advanced from the sea-coast towards the capital of Egypt, and strove to surmount the unseasonable inundation of the Nile which opposed their progress. Louis was made prisoner, with the greatest part of his nobles; all who could not redeem their lives by service or ransom were inhumanly massacred, and the walls of Cairo were decorated with a circle of Christian heads. The king of France was loaded with chains; but the generous victor, a great-grandson of the brother of Saladin, sent a robe of honour to his royal captive; and his deliverance, with that of his soldiers, was obtained by the restitution of Damietta and the payment of 400,000 pieces of gold. In a soft and luxurious climate the degenerate children of the companions of Noureddin and Saladin were incapable of resisting the flower of European chivalry; they triumphed by the arms of their slaves or Mamalukes, the hardy natives of Tartary, who at a tender age had been purchased of the Syrian merchants, and were educated in the camp and palace of the sultan. But Egypt soon afforded a new example of the danger of prætorian bands. In the pride of conquest, Touran Shah, the last of his race, was murdered by his Mamalukes; and the most daring of the

assassins entered the chamber of the captive king, with drawn scimitars, and their hands imbrued in the blood of their sultan. The firmness of Louis commanded their respect; their avarice prevailed over cruelty and zeal, the treaty was accomplished, and the king of France, with the relics of his army, was permitted to embark for Palestine. He wasted four years within the walls of Acre, unable to visit Jerusalem, and unwilling to return without glory to his native country.

§ 30. VII. *Seventh Crusade* (A.D. 1269–1272).—The memory of his defeat excited Louis, after sixteen years of wisdom and repose, to undertake the seventh and last of the crusades. The cross was also assumed by Prince Edward, the son of Henry III. of England, and by a great number of English knights. The loss of Antioch had provoked the enterprise; a wild hope of baptizing the king of Tunis tempted Louis to steer for the African coast; and the report of an immense treasure reconciled his troops to the delay of their voyage to the Holy Land. Instead of a proselyte, he found a siege; the French panted and died on the burning sands; St. Louis expired in his tent; and no sooner had he closed his eyes than his son and successor gave the signal of the retreat (A.D. 1270). But the English prince, who had spent the winter in Sicily expecting the French king, would not abandon the enterprise. At the head of 1000 soldiers the future conqueror of Wales and Scotland delivered Acre from a siege; marched as far as Nazareth with an army of 9000 men; emulated the fame of his uncle Richard; extorted, by his valour, a ten years' truce; and escaped, with a dangerous wound, from the dagger of a fanatic *assassin*.

SEVENTH CRUSADE: death of St. Louis (A.D. 1270).

§ 31. The conquests of the crusaders were finally extinguished by the Mamaluke sultans of Egypt. Antioch was taken in A.D. 1268; the Latin principality was extinguished; and the first seat of the Christian name was dispeopled by the slaughter of 17,000, and the captivity of 100,000, of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, and the stronger castles of the Hospitalers and Templars, successively fell; and the whole existence of the Franks was confined to the city and colony of St. John of Acre, which, after the loss of Jerusalem, became the metropolis of the Latin Christians. In A.D. 1291 the sultan Khalil marched against Acre at the head of 60,000 horse and 140,000 foot; after a siege of thirty-three days the Mamalukes made a general assault; the city was stormed, and death or slavery was the lot of 60,000 Christians. The king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and the great master of the Hospital effected their retreat to the shore; but the sea was rough, the vessels were insufficient, and great numbers of the fugitives were drowned before they could reach the isle of Cyprus, which might comfort Lusignan for the loss of Palestine.* By the command of the

The loss of Acre and the Holy Land (A.D. 1291).

* For the history of the island under the house of Lusignan, M. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre* etc.

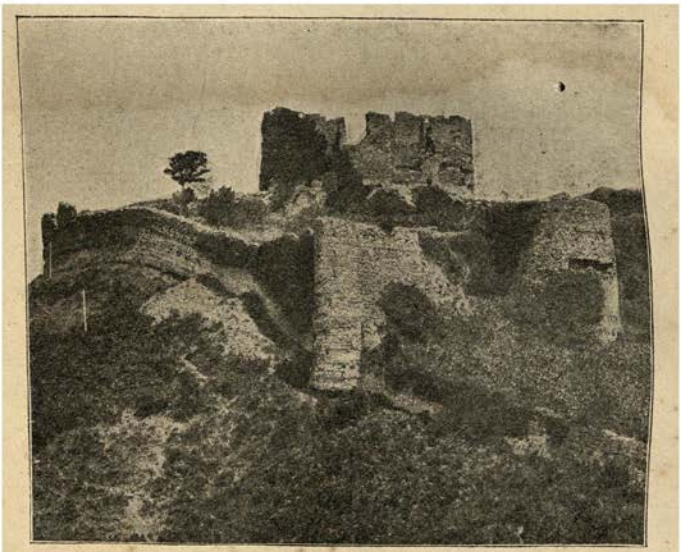
sultan the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished; a motive of avarice or fear still opened the holy sepulchre to some devout and defenceless pilgrims; and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE.*

[(i.) General. Besides the well-known histories of Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, and Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* [Eng. trans. by W. Robson (1852 and 1881)], Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. viii.; Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades* (1894); B. von Kugler, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Kreuzzüge* (1874 and 1878); Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge im Umriss* (1898); H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte d. Kreuzzüge* (1883); Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890). The only accurate account of the lines of march is that of W. Tomaschek, *Zur histor. Topographie von Kleinasien* (*Wien Sitzungsber.*, 1891), pp. 82–106.

(ii.) Special. (1) H. von Sybel, *Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzzuges* (2nd ed., 1881) [Lady Gordon, *History and Literature of the Crusades from the German of Von Sybel* (1861)]; Archer, *On the Accession Dates of the Early Kings of Jerusalem* in *English Historical Review*, vol. iv. p. 89 ff.; Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 1100–1291 (1898); G. Dodu, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 1099–1291 (1894); (2) Kugler, *Studien zur Gesch. des zweiten Kreuzzuges* (1866); (3) Stubbs, *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (1864); T. A. Archer, *The Crusade of Richard I.* ("English History from Contemporary Writers," 1888); Lane-Poole, *Saladin* (1898); (5) Röhricht, *Studien zur Gesch. des fünften Kreuzzuges* (1891); (6) E. J. Davis, *The Invasion of Egypt in* A.D. 1249 *by Louis IX.*, etc. (1897).]

* *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 171—

"Many a knight
From tawny Spain lost in the world's debate."



Genoese Castle on the Bosporus.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS. THE LATIN EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

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Schism of the Greek and Latin churches.

§ 1. THE restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne was speedily followed by the separation of the Greek and Latin churches. A religious and national animosity still divides the two largest communions of the Christian world; and the schism of Constantinople, by alienating her most useful allies and provoking her most dangerous enemies, precipitated the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East.*

The great difference in creed between the Greek and Latin churches relates to the procession of the Holy Ghost. The Latins maintain that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, the Greeks assert that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *by* the Son. The addition to the Nicene creed of the word *filioque* was first made by the synods of Spain and France in the seventh century, and was finally accepted by the Vatican. The rules of discipline also vary in the two churches. The craft or superstition of Rome has imposed on her priests and deacons the rigid obligation of celibacy; among the Greeks it is confined to the bishops; and the parochial clergy, the papas, enjoy the conjugal society of the wives whom they have married before their entrance into holy orders. A question concerning the *Azyms*† was fiercely debated in the eleventh century, and the essence of the Eucharist was supposed in the East and West to depend on the use of leavened or unleavened bread. But the immediate cause of the schism of the Greeks may be traced in the emulation of the leading prelates, who maintained the supremacy of the old metropolis superior to all, and of the reigning capital inferior to none, in the Christian world. After many quarrels the pope's legates, in A.D. 1054, deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a direful anathema, which enumerates the seven mortal heresies of the Greeks, and devotes the guilty teachers, and their unhappy sectaries, to the eternal society of the devil and his angels. According to the emergencies of the church and state, a friendly correspondence was sometimes resumed; the language of charity and concord was sometimes affected; but the Greeks have never recanted their errors, the popes have never repealed their sentence; and from this thunderbolt we may date the consummation of the schism.

Enmity of the Greeks and Latins (A.D. 1100-1200).

§ 2. The aversion of the Greeks and Latins was nourished and manifested in the three first expeditions to the Holy Land. Alexius Comnenus contrived the absence at least of the

* On the cause of the schism, see Appendix.

† Τὰ ἄζυμα, "unleavened bread." On the Greek arguments in favour of leavened bread, cf. Bréhier, *Le schisme Oriental*, p. 149 ff.

formidable pilgrims; his successors, Manuel and Isaac Angelus, conspired with the Moslems for the ruin of the greatest princes of the Franks; and their crooked and malignant policy was seconded by the active and voluntary obedience of every order of their subjects. The situation of Constantinople invites the commerce of the world; and, in every period of her existence, that commerce has been in the hands of foreigners. After the decline of Amalphi, the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese introduced their factories and settlements into the capital of the empire; they acquired the possession of lands and houses; and, after the toleration of a Mahometan mosque, it was impossible to interdict the churches of the Roman rite. The two wives of Manuel Comnenus were of the race of the Franks: the first, a sister-in-law of the emperor Conrad; the second, a daughter of the prince of Antioch; he obtained for his son Alexius a daughter of Philip Augustus, king of France; and he bestowed his own daughter on a marquis of Montferrat, who was educated and dignified in the palace of Constantinople. During the reign of Manuel and that of his successor Alexius, the Latins were exposed at Constantinople to the reproach of foreigners, heretics, and favourites; and this triple guilt was severely expiated in the tumult which announced the return and elevation of Andronicus. The people rose in arms; from the Asiatic shore the tyrant despatched his troops and galleys to assist the national revenge; the Latins were slaughtered in their houses and in the streets; and some estimate may be formed of the slain from the clemency which sold above 4000 Christians in perpetual slavery to the Turks (A.D. 1183). The strangers who escaped exposed to Italy and Europe the wealth and weakness, the perfidy and malice of the Greeks, whose vices were painted as the genuine characters of heresy and schism. The scruples of the first crusaders had neglected the fairest opportunities of securing, by the possession of Constantinople, the way to the Holy Land: a domestic revolution invited, and almost compelled, the French and Venetians to achieve the conquest of the Roman empire of the East.*

Reign of ISAAC ANGELUS: revolt of the Bulgarians (A.D. 1186), and establishment of the second Bulgarian kingdom.

§ 3. In the series of the Byzantine princes I have exhibited the hypocrisy and ambition, the tyranny and fall, of Andronicus, the last male of the Comnenian family who reigned at Constantinople.† *The revolution which cast him headlong from the throne saved and exalted Isaac Angelus (reigned A.D. 1185–1195). The successor of a second Nero might have found it an easy task to deserve the esteem and affection of his subjects; they sometimes had reason to regret the administration of* Andronicus. Isaac Angelus was one of the most despicable of the weak princes that sat upon the Byzantine throne; and in the unworthy hands of Isaac and his brother the remains of

* The notes on §§ 5, 8, 9 will show that it was the result of a disgraceful conspiracy.

† See ch. xxv. (*fin.*).

the Greek empire crumbled into dust. The island of Cyprus was usurped by his namesake, a Comnenian prince; and, by a strange concatenation of events, the sword of our English Richard bestowed that kingdom on the house of Lusignan, a rich compensation for the loss of Jerusalem. The Bulgarians and Wallachians, who, since the victory of the second Basil, had supported, above 170 years, the loose dominion of the Byzantine princes, threw off the yoke. After some faint efforts, Isaac Angelus and his brother acquiesced in their independence; by the arms and policy of John, or Joannices, the second kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly established; and the subtle barbarian sent an embassy to Innocent III. to acknowledge himself a genuine son of Rome in descent and religion,* and humbly received from the pope the licence of coining money, the royal title, and a Latin archbishop or patriarch. The Vatican exulted in the spiritual conquest of Bulgaria, the first object of the schism; and if the Greeks could have preserved the prerogatives of the church, they would gladly have resigned the rights of the monarchy.

Usurpation of ALEXIUS III. ANGELUS (A.D. 1195–1203).

§ 4. Isaac Angelus was dethroned by his brother Alexius Angelus, who during a reign of eight years (A.D. 1195–1203) was supported by the masculine vices of his wife Euphrosyne. The unfortunate Isaac was deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower, on a scanty allowance of bread and water. At the moment of the revolution, his son Alexius, whom he educated in the hope of empire, was twelve years of age. He was spared by the usurper, and reduced to attend his triumph both in peace and war; but as the army was encamped on the sea-shore, an Italian vessel facilitated the escape of the royal youth; and, in the disguise of a common sailor, he eluded the search of his enemies, passed the Hellespont, and found a secure refuge in the isle of Sicily. After saluting the threshold of the apostles, and imploring the protection of Pope Innocent III., Alexius accepted the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, king of the Romans. But in his passage through Italy he heard that the flower of Western chivalry was assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the Holy Land; and a ray of hope was kindled in his bosom that their invincible swords might be employed in his father's restoration.

The FOURTH CRUSADE (A.D. 1198).

§ 5. About ten or twelve years after the loss of Jerusalem, the nobles of France were again summoned to the holy war by the voice of a third prophet, less extravagant, perhaps, than Peter the Hermit, but far below St. Bernard in the merit of an orator and a statesman. An illiterate priest of the neighbourhood of Paris, Fulk of Neuilly, forsook his parochial duty, to assume the more flattering character of a popular and itinerant

* The pedigree was acknowledged by the pope; and there is no doubt that he was a Walachian or Vlach (cf. vol. i. p. 83). Walachia was part of the first Bulgarian kingdom (ch. xxx. § 2). John II. (Calo-John) reigned A.D. 1197–1207.

missionary. No sooner did Innocent III. ascend the chair of St. Peter than he proclaimed in Italy, Germany, and France, the obligation of a new crusade; and among his legates and orators who blew the sacred trumpet, Fulk of Neuilly was the loudest and most successful. The situation of the principal monarchs was averse to the pious summons; but the preacher was heard and obeyed by many of the most powerful barons of France, and by Baldwin, count of Flanders. The principal leaders will be mentioned in the course of the narrative; but we must not pass over the name of the valiant noble, Jeffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, who has condescended, in the rude idiom of his age and country, to write or dictate an original narrative of the councils and actions in which he bore a memorable part.* It was resolved to seek the deliverance of Palestine in Egypt; but the fate of so many royal armies displayed the toils and perils of a land expedition; the maritime states of Italy were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors with their arms and horses; and six deputies of the crusaders proceeded to Venice to solicit the aid of that powerful republic.

State of the Venetians (A.D. 697-1200).

§ 6. In the invasion of Italy by Attila, I have mentioned the flight of the Venetians from the fallen cities of the continent, and their obscure shelter in the chain of islands that line the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf.† In the midst of the waters, free, indigent, laborious, and inaccessible, they gradually coalesced into a republic: the first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Rialto; and the annual election of the twelve tribunes was superseded by the permanent office of a duke or doge. The inhabitants of Venice owned the authority of the Greek emperors; but the bands of dependence, which was never absolute or rigid, were imperceptibly relaxed by the ambition of Venice and the weakness of Constantinople.‡ The sea was their patrimony; the western parts of the Mediterranean, from Tuscany to Gibraltar, were indeed abandoned to their rivals of Pisa and Genoa; but the Venetians acquired an early and lucrative share of the commerce of Greece and Egypt. Their

* Editions by De Wailly (1872) and É. Bouchet (1891). Villehardouin was Gibbon's chief source for the following account; and until recent years no doubt was entertained as to the honesty and faithfulness of the narrative. But it has now been made abundantly clear that his work is in reality a disingenuous *apologia* for the outrage called the Fourth Crusade, which deliberately suppressed all the damning facts and made the expedition against Constantinople appear a mere diversion brought about by accident. Another work not accessible to Gibbon, Robert de Clary's *Li estoires de chiaus qui conquisent Constantinople* (edited by Hopf in *Chroniques Gréco-romaines*), is most important as a counterpoise against Villehardouin's official version. The case is well stated by E. Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople*, an excellent account of the fourth crusade.

† Vol. i. p. 291.

‡ Not until about A.D. 840; after that time she became practically independent, though nominally subject to Constantinople.

riches increased with the increasing demand of Europe; their manufactures of silk and glass, perhaps the institution of their bank, are of high antiquity; and they enjoyed the fruits of their industry in the magnificence of public and private life. To assert her flag, to avenge her injuries, to protect the freedom of navigation, the republic could launch and man a fleet of 100 galleys; and the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans were encountered by her naval arms. The primitive government of Venice was a loose mixture of democracy and monarchy; the doge was elected by the votes of the general assembly: as long as he was popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and authority of a prince; but in the frequent revolutions of the state he was deposed, or banished, or slain, by the justice or injustice of the multitude. The twelfth century produced the first rudiments of the wise and jealous aristocracy, which reduced the doge to a pageant, and the people to a cypher.

Alliance of the French and Venetians (A.D. 1201).

§ 7. When the six ambassadors of the French pilgrims arrived at Venice (A.D. 1201), they were hospitably entertained in the palace of St. Mark by the reigning duke: his name was Henry Dandolo; and he shone in the last period of human life as one of the most illustrious characters of the times. Under the weight of years, and after the loss of his eyes, Dandolo retained a sound understanding and a manly courage; the spirit of an hero, ambitious to signalize his reign by some memorable exploits; and the wisdom of a patriot, anxious to build his fame on the glory and advantage of his country. The proposal of the French was first debated by the six *sages* who had been recently appointed to control the administration of the doge; it was next disclosed to the forty members of the council of state; and finally communicated to the legislative assembly of 450 representatives, who were annually chosen in the six quarters of the city. Dandolo supported warmly the application of the crusaders: his arguments of public interest were approved; and he was authorized to inform the ambassadors of the following conditions of the treaty. It was proposed that the crusaders should assemble at Venice on the feast of St. John of the ensuing year;* that a sufficient number of ships should be prepared for their embarkation; that during a term of nine months they should be supplied with provisions, and transported to whatsoever coast the service of God and Christendom should require; and that the republic should join the armament with a squadron of fifty galleys. It was required that the pilgrims should pay, before their departure, a sum of 85,000 marks of silver;† and that all conquests, by sea and land, should be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were hard; but the emergency was pressing, and the French barons were not less profuse of money than of blood [March, A.D. 1201].

§ 8. The French barons elected as their general Boniface,

* *I.e.* June 24, 1202. † About £180,000 sterling.

marquis of Montferrat, descended of a race of heroes, and himself of conspicuous fame in the wars and negotiations of the times. Upon their arrival at Venice they found that their allies had fulfilled, and even surpassed, their engagements; and the fleet of transports, ships, and galleys, was ready to hoist sail as soon as the republic had received the price of the freight and armament (A.D. 1202). But that price far exceeded the wealth of the crusaders who were assembled at Venice; and after all their efforts, 34,000 marks were still wanting to complete the stipulated sum. The obstacle was removed by the policy and patriotism of the doge, who proposed to the barons that, if they would join their arms in reducing some revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic a long indulgence, till some wealthy conquest should afford the means of satisfying the debt. After much scruple and hesitation, they chose rather to accept the offer than to relinquish the enterprise; and the first hostilities of the fleet and army were directed against Zara, a strong city of the Slavonian coast, which had renounced its allegiance to Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary. The crusaders easily made themselves masters of Zara; and as the season was far advanced, they resolved to pass the winter in a secure harbour and plentiful country.*

Assembly and departure of the crusade from Venice (Oct., A.D. 1202).

§ 9. The assembly of such formidable powers by sea and land

Alliance of the crusaders with the Greek prince, the young Alexius.

* Such is the official version: the diversion to Zara was caused by the mere accident of the failure to find the passage money. The real facts are practically certain. Boniface was elected in August, A.D. 1201, and stayed from October to January (or February) at the court of his relative Philip of Swabia, where Alexius also arrived about October. During these months a plot was formed between the three to use the crusade to place Alexius on the throne (cf. *Gesta Innocent.*, iii. no. 83). Boniface had reasons for hostility to Constantinople (Pears, *op. cit.*, pp. 271–273) and Philip imagined he had a right to the Eastern throne through his wife, and dreamed of a union of the empires of East and West. Now, as to Venice. The conclusion of her agreement with the crusaders (§ 7) had alarmed the sultan of Egypt, and he began to negotiate with her. On May 13, A.D. 1202, a treaty was secretly concluded whereby, in return for large commercial concessions, Venice undertook to keep the crusaders away from Egypt. Hence, when the crusaders arrived in Venice, neither Dandolo nor Boniface intended to adhere to the original scheme: each, for his own reasons, had determined to divert the expedition from Egypt. (All this is suppressed by Villehardouin.) By their failure to keep their contract the crusaders played into the hands of Venice; they were kept prisoners on the island of Lido until the freight question should be settled. At last the wily doge—who probably already had a complete understanding with the conspirators—offered to transport them over the sea, on condition that the 34,000 marks should be paid out of the spoil of their first [Moslem] conquest. This was joyfully accepted. Shortly afterwards another proposal was made to the leaders, that (as it was too late to go oversea) they should attack Zara and pass the winter there. This was accepted, but when the agreement became known, there was great opposition, and numbers left in disgust. The expedition, however, was carried out. So far Dandolo had succeeded. At Zara the difficulty of avoiding Egypt would arise again; but the doge had prepared for this.

had revived the hopes of young Alexius, and both at Venice * and Zara he solicited the arms of the crusaders for his own restoration and his father's deliverance. The royal youth was recommended by Philip, king of Germany; his prayers and presence excited the compassion of the camp; and his cause was embraced and pleaded by the marquis of Montferrat and the doge of Venice. He promised, in his own and his father's name, that, as soon as they should be seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would terminate the long schism of the Greeks, and submit themselves and their people to the lawful supremacy of the Roman church. He engaged to recompense the labours and merits of the crusaders by the immediate payment of 200,000 marks of silver; to accompany them in person to Egypt; or, if it should be judged more advantageous, to maintain, during a year, 10,000 men, and, during his life, 500 knights, for the service of the Holy Land. These tempting conditions were accepted by the majority; but the numbers and arguments of the dissidents were strong and respectable. They alleged the sanctity of a vow which had drawn them from their homes to rescue the holy sepulchre; nor should the dark and crooked counsels of human policy divert them from a pursuit, the event of which was in the hands of the Almighty. Their first offence, the attack of Zara, had been severely punished by the reproach of their conscience and the censures of the pope; nor would they again imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-Christians. On these principles, many pilgrims, the most distinguished for their valour and piety, withdrew from the camp.†

Voyage from Zara to Constantinople (A.D. 1203).

§ 10. Notwithstanding this defection, the departure of the fleet and army was vigorously pressed by the Venetians, whose zeal for the service of the royal youth concealed a just resentment to his nation and family. They were mortified by the recent preference which had been given to Pisa, the rival of their trade; and they had a long arrear of debt and injury to liquidate

* In Sept., A.D. 1202, before the crusaders had left for Zara. Alexius' proposals were submitted only to the leaders, who accepted them in principle and (without the knowledge of the army) sent messengers to lay them before Philip. On its return, the embassy proceeded to Zara with Philip's answer, which urged acceptance, and set forth Alexius' promises, as given in the following sentences. (Alexius himself did not yet appear in person.) These proposals were then submitted to the lesser barons and knights, the majority of whom were influenced into accepting them. The army was still kept in ignorance.

† But the army had not yet any sure knowledge of the facts. Before submitting the agreement to the mass of the crusaders, the leaders (seeing their discontent and suspicions of foul play) had them transported a stage further to Corfu. As Alexius was to join them here, the secret could no longer be concealed. Its revelation evoked the strongest opposition, great numbers departed, and the whole expedition was on the point of breaking up when a compromise was effected, by which the oppositionists agreed to remain with the expedition until autumn, provided that the original mission should then be accomplished.

with the Byzantine court. No resistance was offered by the Byzantine monarch to the passage of the fleet through the Greek seas; and after a prosperous voyage, the crusaders reposed in Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, for nine days, during which the emperor made a fruitless attempt at negotiation (A.D. 1203). On the tenth day they traversed the Bosporus without encountering an enemy or an obstacle; and the 70,000 Greeks, who had been drawn up on the opposite shore, fled on their approach. In the first consternation of the flying enemy, the Latins resolved, by a double attack, to open the entrance of the harbour. The tower of Galata, in the suburb of Pera, was attacked and stormed by the French, while the Venetians assumed the more difficult task of forcing the boom or chain that was stretched from that tower to the Byzantine shore. After some fruitless attempts their intrepid perseverance prevailed; twenty ships of war, the relics of the Grecian navy, were either sunk or taken; the enormous and massy links of iron were cut asunder by the shears or broken by the weight of the galleys; and the Venetian fleet, safe and triumphant, rode at anchor in the port of Constantinople. By these daring achievements a remnant of 20,000 Latins solicited the licence of besieging a capital which contained above 400,000 inhabitants, able, though not willing, to bear arms in the defence of their country. Such an account would indeed suppose a population of near 2,000,000; but whatever abatement may be required in the numbers of the Greeks, the *belief* of those numbers will equally exalt the fearless spirit of their assailants.

First siege and conquest of Constantinople by the Latins (July 7–18).

§ 11. It was arranged that the French should attack the city by land and the Venetians by sea. After ten days incessant labour the Latins effected a breach, and attempted to scale the walls; but they were driven back by the numbers that defended the vantage-ground. The naval attack was more successful; the soldiers, who leaped from the galleys on shore, immediately planted and ascended their scaling-ladders, while the large ships, advancing more slowly into the intervals, and lowering a drawbridge, opened a way through the air from their masts to the rampart. In the midst of the conflict the doge, a venerable and conspicuous form, stood aloft in complete armour on the prow of his galley. The great standard of St. Mark was displayed before him; his vessel was the first that struck; and Dandolo was the first warrior on the shore. On a sudden, by an invisible hand (for the standard-bearer was probably slain), the banner of the republic was fixed on the rampart; twenty-five towers were rapidly occupied; and, by the cruel expedient of fire, the Greeks were driven from the adjacent quarter. The doge had despatched the intelligence of his success, when he was checked by the danger of his confederates. Nobly declaring that he would rather die with the pilgrims than gain a victory by their destruction, Dandolo relinquished his advantage, recalled his troops, and hastened to the scene of action. He found the

French encompassed by sixty squadrons of the Greek cavalry. Shame and despair had provoked Alexius to the last effort of a general sally; but he was awed by the firm order and manly aspect of the Latins; and, after skirmishing at a distance, withdrew his troops in the close of the evening. The silence or tumult of the night exasperated his fears; and the timid usurper, collecting a treasure of 10,000 pounds of gold, basely deserted his wife, his people, and his fortune; threw himself into a bark; stole through the Bosporus; and landed in shameful safety in an obscure harbour of Thrace. As soon as they were apprised of his flight, the Greek nobles sought pardon and peace in the dungeon where the blind Isaac expected each hour the visit of the executioner. At the dawn of day hostilities were suspended, and the Latin chiefs were surprised by a message from the lawful and reigning emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son and to reward his generous deliverers (July 18).

Restoration of the emperor Isaac Angelus and his son Alexius IV.

§ 12. The barons mounted on horseback and introduced the heir of Constantinople to the city and palace: his youth and marvellous adventures engaged every heart in his favour, and Alexius was solemnly crowned with his father in the dome of St. Sophia. The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital might have been pregnant with mischief and danger; and the suburb of Galata, or Pera, was assigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians. It was agreed between the young Alexius and his allies that the re-union of the two churches must be the result of patience and time; but avarice was less tractable than zeal; and a large sum was instantly disbursed to appease the wants, and silence the importunity, of the crusaders. Alexius was alarmed by the approaching hour of their departure; their absence would have left him, naked and alone, to the caprice and prejudice of a perfidious nation; and he wished to bribe their stay, the delay of a year, by undertaking to defray their expense and to satisfy, in their name, the freight of the Venetian vessels. The offer was agitated in the council of the barons; and, after a repetition of their debates and scruples, a majority of votes again acquiesced in the advice of the doge and the prayer of the young emperor. At the price of 1600 pounds of gold, he prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat to lead him with an army round the provinces of Europe; to establish his authority, and pursue his uncle, while Constantinople was awed by the presence of Baldwin and his confederates of France and Flanders.

Quarrel of the Greeks and Latins: death of Isaac and Alexius IV.

By the recent invasion the Greeks were awakened from a dream of nine centuries; from the vain presumption that the capital of the Roman empire was impregnable to foreign arms. The strangers of the West had violated the city, and bestowed the sceptre, of Constantine; their Imperial clients soon became as unpopular as themselves: the well-known vices of Isaac were rendered still more contemptible by his infirmities, and the young Alexius was hated as an apostate who had renounced

the manners and religion of his country. His secret covenant with the Latins was divulged or suspected; the people, and especially the clergy, were devoutly attached to their faith and superstition; and every convent and every shop resounded with the danger of the church and the tyranny of the pope. During the absence of marquis Boniface and his Imperial pupil, Constantinople was visited with a calamity which might be justly imputed to the zeal and indiscretion of the Flemish pilgrims. In one of their visits to the city they were scandalized by the aspect of a mosque or synagogue.* They set fire to the building of the infidels; but during eight† days and nights the conflagration spread above a league in front, from the harbour to the Propontis, over the thickest and most populous regions of the city. By this outrage the name of the Latins became still more unpopular; and the colony‡ of that nation, above 15,000 persons, consulted their safety in a hasty retreat from the city to the protection of their standard in the suburb of Pera. The young emperor returned in triumph; his own inclination, and his father's advice, attached him to his benefactors; but Alexius hesitated between gratitude and patriotism, between the fear of his subjects and of his allies. By his feeble and fluctuating conduct he lost the esteem and confidence of both. The Latin chiefs repeated their demands, resented his delays, suspected his intentions, and exacted a decisive answer of peace or war. Among the Greeks all authority and wisdom were overborne by the impetuous multitude, who mistook their rage for valour, their numbers for strength, and their fanaticism for the support and inspiration of Heaven. The author of the tumult was a prince of the house of Ducas;§ and his common appellation of Alexius must be discriminated by the epithet of Mourzoufle, which in the vulgar idiom expressed the close junction of his black and shaggy eyebrows. He insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Alexius, and by a stratagem seized the young emperor and, after a few days' confinement, put him to death. The emperor Isaac Angelus soon followed his son to the grave; and Mourzoufle, perhaps, might spare the superfluous crime of hastening the extinction of impotence and blindness (A.D. 1204).

§ 13. The death of the emperors, and the usurpation of Mourzoufle, had changed the nature of the quarrel. The French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius and swore revenge against the perfidious nation who had crowned his assassin. The second siege of Constantinople was far more laborious than the first. Near three months, without excepting

Second siege and pillage of Constantinople.

* Belonging to Turkish merchants, cf. § 2, above.

† Probably not more than two days and nights at most.

‡ They were mainly traders and artisans.

§ The people rose in rebellion and tried to elect a new emperor; after some days of confusion Alexius Ducas Mourtzouphlos placed himself at their head.

the holy season of Lent, were consumed in skirmishes and preparations, before the Latins were ready or resolved for a general assault. The land fortifications had been found impregnable; and it was therefore determined to attack the city from the harbour. The first assault was repelled; but the second was crowned with success. Four towers were scaled; three gates were burst open; the Latins entered the city under the banners of their leaders; and either design or accident kindled a third conflagration, which consumed in a few hours the measure of three of the largest cities of France.* In the close of the evening, the barons checked their troops and fortified their stations; but in the morning a suppliant procession, with crosses and images, announced the submission of the Greeks and deprecated the wrath of the conquerors: the usurper had escaped through the golden gate; and the empire, which still bore the name of Constantine and the title of Roman, was subverted by the arms of the Latin pilgrims. Constantinople had been taken by storm; and no restraints except those of religion and humanity were imposed on the conquerors by the laws of war. Their cruelty and lust were moderated by the authority of the chiefs and feelings of the soldiers; but a free scope was allowed to their avarice, which was glutted, even in the holy week, by the pillage of the city.† The magnitude of the prize surpassed the largest scale of experience or expectation. After the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, 50,000 marks were deducted to satisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The residue‡ of the French amounted to 400,000 marks of silver, about 800,000 pounds sterling; nor can I better appreciate the value of that sum in the public and private transactions of the age than by defining it as seven times the annual revenue of the kingdom of England.§

Election of the emperor BALDWIN I. (May 9, A.D. 1204).

§ 14. After the death of the lawful princes, the French and Venetians, confident of justice and victory, agreed to divide and regulate their future possessions.‖ It was stipulated by treaty that twelve electors, six of either nation, should be nominated; and that a majority should choose the emperor of

* According to Villehardouin.

† April 12–13.

‡ Villehardouin's words ought to mean that 400,000 was the whole French share (*Sans celui qui fut volé et sans la part des Vénitiens, il en fut bien rapporté quatre cent mille marcs*,—trans. de Wailly). There is a difficulty, however, which does not seem to have been remarked: for he has just said that, after paying the Venetian debt, the pilgrims had 100,000 marks to divide amongst themselves. Wilken (vol. v. p. 319) and Finlay (vol. iii. p. 274) give different accounts; but neither is acceptable. (There is a variant reading *trois cent mille* in three late MSS.)

§ "At the council of Lyons (A.D. 1245) the English ambassadors stated the revenue of the crown as below . . . 60,000 marks a year; cf. Hume's *History*, ii. p. 170" (G.).

‖ The Partition Treaty was drawn up and signed before the siege began.

the East. To him, with all the titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, they assigned a fourth part of the Greek monarchy. It was defined that the three remaining portions should be equally shared between the republic of Venice and the barons of France; that each feudatory, with an honourable exception for the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire; and that the nation which gave an emperor should resign to their brethren the choice of a patriarch. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, the treaty was confirmed and executed; and the first and most important step was the creation of an emperor. A just impulse of respect and gratitude prompted the twelve electors to crown the virtues of the doge; but the patriot Dandolo was devoid of all personal ambition, and his nomination was overruled by the Venetians themselves. The exclusion of the doge left room for the more equal merits of Boniface and Baldwin. The marquis of Montferrat was recommended by his mature age and fair reputation, by the choice of the adventurers, and the wishes of the Greeks. But the count of Flanders was the chief of a wealthy and warlike people; he was valiant, pious, and chaste; in the prime of life, since he was only thirty-two years of age; a descendant of Charlemagne, and a cousin of the king of France. The electors decided in favour of Baldwin. Boniface was the first to kiss the hand of his rival, and to raise him on the buckler; and Baldwin was transported to the cathedral and solemnly invested with the purple buskins. At the end of three weeks he was crowned by the legate, in the vacancy of a patriarch; but the Venetian clergy soon filled the chapter of St. Sophia, and seated Thomas Morosini on the ecclesiastical throne.

Division of the Greek empire.

§ 15. In the division of the Greek provinces the share of the Venetians was more ample than that of the Latin emperor. No more than one-fourth was appropriated to his domain; a clear moiety of the remainder was reserved for Venice; and the other moiety was distributed among the adventurers of France and Lombardy. The venerable Dandolo was proclaimed despot of Romania, but ended at Constantinople his long and glorious life. The Venetians formed a chain of factories and cities and islands along the maritime coast, from the neighbourhood of Ragusa to the Hellespont and the Bosporus. The marquis Boniface became king of Thessalonica or Macedonia. The lots of the Latin pilgrims were regulated by chance, or choice, or subsequent exchange; and they abused, with intemperate joy, their triumph over the lives and fortunes of a great people.

Revolt of the Greeks.

§ 16. Two fugitives, who had reigned at Constantinople, still asserted the title of emperor. A domestic alliance * and a common interest induced the more recent usurper to unite with the former the relics of his power. Mourzoufle was received with smiles and honours in the camp of Alexius III.; but he

* Alexius Mourtzouphlos was son-in-law of Alexius III.

was shortly afterwards deprived of his eyes, stripped of his troops and treasures, and turned out to wander. As the tyrant was stealing over to Asia, he was seized by the Latins of Constantinople, and condemned, after an open trial, to be cast down headlong from the Theodosian column, a pillar of white marble

Silver coin of Alexius II., emperor of Trebizond (from the British Museum). Obverse: ΑΛЄξ. ΚΜΝ (Ἀλέξιος ὁ Κομνηνός); emperor on horseback. Reverse: ΘЄΥΓЄΝ (Ὁ Ἅγιος Εὐγένιος); saint on horseback.

of 147 feet in height. The fate of Alexius is less tragical: he was sent by the marquis of Montferrat a captive to Italy, and a gift to the king of the Romans; but he had not much to applaud his fortune, if the sentence of imprisonment and exile were changed from a fortress in the Alps to a monastery in Asia.* But his daughter, before the national calamity, had been given in marriage to a young hero, who continued the succession, and restored the throne, of the Greek princes. The valour of Theodore Lascaris was signalized in the two sieges of Constantinople. After the fall of the city Theodore retired to breathe the air of freedom in Anatolia. Under the title, at first of despot, and afterwards of emperor, he drew to his standard the bolder spirits. Nice, where Theodore established his residence, Prusa and Philadelphia, Smyrna and Ephesus, opened their gates to their deliverer; and the successor of Constantine preserved a fragment of the empire from the banks of the Mæander to the suburbs of Nicomedia, and at length of Constantinople. Another portion, distant and obscure, was possessed by the lineal heir of the Comneni, a son of the virtuous Manuel, a grandson of the tyrant Andronicus. His name was Alexius; by the indulgence of the Angeli, he was appointed governor or duke of Trebizond:† his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence; and without changing his title, he reigned in peace from Sinope to the Phasis, along

Theodore Lascaris, emperor of Nice (A.D. 1204-1222).

The dukes and emperors of Trebizond.

* He fled from Montferrat's protection to Michael of Epirus (see below), and, not being recognized by him, to the sultan of Iconium, on whose defeat by Lascaris he was shut up in a monastery.

† He was not appointed by the Angeli. It was his aunt Thamar, queen (perhaps) of Iberia, who helped him to found the state of Trebizond. From the first he assumed the title of Emperor and Grand Komnenos (see Finlay, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 318 ff., where the story of the empire is fully narrated. The sources for the history are being published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Hist. Imp. Trapezuntini*).

the coast of the Black Sea. The title of emperor was first assumed by the grandson of Alexius.* In the West a third fragment was saved from the common shipwreck by Michael,† who founded a strong and conspicuous principality in Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly, which have ever been peopled by a warlike race. The Greeks, who had offered their service to their new sovereigns, were excluded by the haughty Latins from all civil and military honours, as a nation born to tremble and obey. As long as the crusaders were united at Constantinople, the memory of their conquest and the terror of their arms imposed silence on the captive land; their dispersion betrayed the smallness of their numbers and the defects of their discipline; and some failures and mischances revealed the secret that they were not invincible. As the fear of the Greeks abated, their hatred increased. They murmured; they conspired; and before a year of slavery had elapsed, they implored, or accepted, the succour of a barbarian, whose power they had felt, and whose gratitude they trusted.

The despots of Epirus.

§ 17. The Latin conquerors had been saluted with a solemn and early embassy from John, or Calo-John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Wallachians. He deemed himself their brother, as the votary of the Roman pontiff, from whom he had received the regal title and an holy banner; and in the subversion of the Greek monarchy he might aspire to the name of their friend and accomplice. But Calo-John was astonished to find that the count of Flanders had assumed the pomp and pride of the successors of Constantine; and his ambassadors were dismissed with an haughty message, that the rebel must deserve a pardon by touching with his forehead the footstool of the Imperial throne. His policy watched the rising discontent of the Greeks, and promised that their first struggles for freedom should be supported by his person and kingdom. The conspiracy was propagated by national hatred, the firmest band of association and secrecy; the Greeks were impatient to sheath their daggers in the breasts of the victorious strangers; but the execution was prudently delayed till Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported the flower of his troops beyond the Hellespont. Most of the towns and villages of Thrace were true to the moment and the signal; and the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the vile and merciless revenge of their slaves. The voice of fame and fear announced the revolt of the Greeks and the rapid approach of their Bulgarian ally; and Calo-John, not depending on the forces of his own kingdom, had drawn from the Scythian wilderness a body of 14,000 Cumans,‡ who drank, as it was

The Bulgarian war: defeat and death of Baldwin (A.D. 1205).

* See previous note. The empire lasted on (with varying limits) until conquered by the Turks in A.D. 1461.

† Son of Constantine Angelos, the uncle of the emperors Isaac II. and Alexius III. For the despotate of Epirus, Finlay, vol. iv. p. 121 ff.

‡ A Turkish horde (see notes on pp. 177, 178).

said, the blood of their captives, and sacrificed the Christians on the altars of their gods. Alarmed by this sudden and growing danger, the emperor despatched a swift messenger to recall count Henry and his troops; but without expecting the return of his gallant brother, Baldwin took the field with a small force, and proceeded to besiege the rebels of Adrianople. The Latins were soon interrupted by the light cavalry of the Cumans, who fled before their first charge; but when the knights and their horses were almost breathless, the Cumans, like the Parthians, suddenly turned, rallied, and encompassed the heavy squadrons of the Franks. Many of the knights were slain, and the emperor was made prisoner (A.D. 1205).

Gold seal of Baldwin I. Obverse: +BAΛΔΟΥΙΝΟC . ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC. The emperor sitting on X-shaped seat ornamented with heads of animals, and holding sceptre and globe surmounted by cross. Reverse: BALD(*uinus*) D(*e*)I GRA(*tia*) IMP(*e*)R(*ator*) ROM(*aniae*) FLAND(*riae*) Z(=*et*) HAIN(*oniae*) COM(*es*). The emperor galloping, in full armour, with shield and brandished sword. (After Schlumberger, *Bulletin Monumental*, 1890, p. 7.)

Reign of HENRY (A.D. 1206–1216).

§ 18. Baldwin died in the prisons of Bulgaria; but above a year elapsed before the Latins could be assured of his death, before his brother, the regent Henry, would consent to assume the title of emperor (A.D. 1206–1216). In the support of the Eastern empire Henry was gradually left without an associate, as the heroes of the crusade retired from the world or from the war. The doge of Venice, the venerable Dandolo, in the fulness of years and glory, sunk into the grave; and the marquis of Montferrat, who had advanced to revenge Baldwin, was slain by the Bulgarians among the hills of Rhodope. But the character of Henry was not unequal to his arduous situation: his courage was tempered with a degree of prudence unknown to his impetuous brother; and though he cautiously provided for the success of his arms, the drooping Latins were often roused by his example to save and to second their fearless emperor. But such efforts, and some supplies of men and money from France, were of less avail than the errors, the cruelty, and

death of their most formidable adversary. When the despair of the Greek subjects invited Calo-John as their deliverer, they hoped that he would protect their liberty and adopt their laws; they were soon taught to compare the degrees of *national* ferocity, and to execrate the savage conqueror, who no longer dissembled his intention of dispeopling Thrace, of demolishing the cities, and of transplanting the inhabitants beyond the Danube. They raised a cry of grief and repentance to the throne of Henry; the emperor alone had the magnanimity to forgive and trust them. The Bulgarians retired before his arms, and the savage, with shame and loss, was compelled to relinquish his prey. He was stabbed in the night in his tent; and after several victories the prudence of Henry concluded an honourable peace with the successor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus. If he ceded some doubtful limits, an ample kingdom was reserved for *himself* and his feudatories; and his reign, which lasted only ten years, afforded a short interval of prosperity and peace.

PETER of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople: his captivity and death (A.D. 1219).

§ 19. The virtuous Henry died at Thessalonica in the defence of that kingdom, and of an infant, the son of his friend Boniface. In the two first emperors of Constantinople the male line of the counts of Flanders was extinct. But their sister Yolande was the wife of Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, whom the Latins now invited to assume the empire of the East. Peter passed the Alps at the head of 140 knights and 5500 sergeants and archers, and was transported across the Adriatic by the Venetians; but, in his journey overland from Durazzo to Thessalonica, he was arrested by the despot of Epirus and died in captivity (A.D. 1217–1219).

ROBERT, emperor of Constantinople (A.D. 1221–1228).

§ 20. The long ignorance of his fate, and the presence of Yolande, his wife or widow, delayed the proclamation of a new emperor. In the midst of her grief, she was delivered of a son, who was named Baldwin, the last and most unfortunate of the Latin princes of Constantinople. His birth endeared him to the barons of Romania; but his childhood would have prolonged the troubles of a minority, and Robert, the second of the sons of Peter and Yolande, was called to the throne of Constantinople (A.D. 1221–1228). His reign was an æra of calamity and disgrace; and the colony, as it was styled, of NEW FRANCE yielded on all sides to the Greeks of *Nice* and *Epirus*. *Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus, entered the kingdom of Thessalonica; expelled the feeble Demetrius, the son of the marquis Boniface; erected his standard on the walls of Adrianople;* and added, by his vanity, a third or a fourth name to the list of rival emperors. The relics of the Asiatic province were swept away by John Vatazes, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, who, in a triumphant reign of thirty-three years, displayed the virtues both of peace and war (A.D. 1222–1255).

§ 21. In the seven years of his brother's reign, Baldwin of Courtenay had not emerged from a state of childhood, and the

JOHN OF BRIENNE (A.D. 1228–1237) and BALDWIN II., emperors of Constantinople (A.D. 1237–1261).

barons of Romania felt the strong necessity of placing the sceptre in the hands of a man and an hero. They therefore agreed to invest John of Brienne for his life with the title and prerogatives of emperor, on the sole condition that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and succeed at a mature age to the throne of Constantinople. John of Brienne had been one of the most distinguished heroes in the fifth crusade, and possessed the titular kingdom of Jerusalem by his marriage with Mary, the daughter of Isabella and Conrad of Montferrat, and the grand-daughter of Almeric or Amaury. The expectation, both of the Greeks and Latins, was kindled by the renown and the presence of John of Brienne; but avarice and the love of ease appear to have chilled the ardour of enterprise; and some years rolled away without action or honour, till he was awakened by the dangerous alliance of Vatazes, emperor of Nice, and of Azan, king of Bulgaria.* They besieged Constantinople by sea and land; but the Latin emperor, instead of defending the city, made a sally at the head of his cavalry, and destroyed the squadrons of the enemy. Fired by his example, the infantry and the citizens boarded the vessels that anchored close to the walls; and twenty-five were dragged in triumph into the harbour of Constantinople [A.D. 1235]. At the summons of the emperor, the vassals and allies armed in her defence; broke through every obstacle that opposed their passage; and, in the succeeding year, obtained a second victory over the same enemies. Baldwin II. succeeded to the imperial dignity on the decease of his adoptive father (A.D. 1237–1261).

Progress of the Greeks (A.D. 1237–1261): MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, emperor (A.D. 1260).

§ 22. The Latins of Constantinople were on all sides encompassed and pressed: their sole hope, the last delay of their ruin, was in the division of their Greek and Bulgarian enemies; and of this hope they were deprived by the superior arms and policy of John Vatazes, emperor of Nice. From the Propontis to the rocky coast of Pamphylia, Asia was peaceful and prosperous under his reign; and the events of every campaign extended his influence in Europe. The strong cities of the hills of Macedonia and Thrace were rescued from the Bulgarians, and their kingdom was circumscribed by its present and proper limits, along the southern banks of the Danube. After some resistance, the kingdom of Thessalonica was united to the empire of Nice [A.D. 1246]; and Vatazes reigned without a competitor from the Turkish borders to the Adriatic gulf. But his death, the short and busy reign of his son Theodore II. (A.D. 1254–1258), and the helpless infancy of his grandson John, suspended the restoration of the Greeks. The guardian of the young prince was Michael Palæologus, the most illustrious, in birth and merit, of the Greek nobles. His numerous friends and partizans urged that the youth of the emperor and the

* On John Asēn, who extended his empire from the Albanian coast to the Black Sea, and as far north as Belgrade, see Jireček, *Gesch. d. Bulgaren*, c. xvi.

impending dangers of a minority required the support of an associate raised above the envy of his equals, and invested with the names and prerogatives of royalty. It was agreed that John and Michael should be proclaimed as joint emperors; but on the day of the coronation, and in the cathedral of Nice, the adherents of Palæologus most vehemently urged the just priority of his age and merit. The unseasonable dispute was eluded by postponing to a more convenient opportunity the coronation of John Lascaris; and he walked with a slight diadem in the train of his guardian, who alone received the Imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch (A.D. 1260).

Constantinople recovered by the Greeks (A.D. 1261).

§ 23. As soon as Palæologus was seated on the throne, he resolved to expel the Latins from Constantinople. He visited in person and strengthened the troops and fortifications of Thrace; and the next spring his favourite general, Alexius Strategopulus, whom he had decorated with the title of Cæsar, passed the Hellespont with 800 horse and some infantry on a secret expedition. The adjacent territory between the Propontis and the Black Sea was cultivated by an hardy race of peasants and outlaws, exercised in arms, uncertain in their allegiance, but inclined by language, religion, and present advantage, to the party of the Greeks. They were styled the *volunteers*,* and by their free service the army of Alexius, with the regulars of Thrace and the Cuman auxiliaries, was augmented to the number of 25,000 men. The weakness of Constantinople and the distress and terror of the Latins were familiar to the observation of the volunteers; and they represented the present moment as the most propitious to surprise and conquest. Alexius left his main body to second and support his operations, and advanced unperceived in the night with a chosen detachment. While some applied scaling-ladders to the lowest part of the walls, an old Greek introduced their companions through a subterranean passage into his house; on the inside they broke an entrance through the golden gate, which had been long obstructed; and the conqueror was in the heart of the city before the Latins were conscious of their danger. The Greeks of Constantinople remembered their native sovereigns; every quarter was in arms; and the air resounded with a general acclamation of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august emperors of the Romans!" (A.D. 1261). Their rival Baldwin was awakened by the sound; but the most pressing danger could not prompt him to draw his sword in the defence of a city which he deserted perhaps with more pleasure than regret: he fled from the palace to the sea-shore, where he embarked on board the Venetian galleys. From the loss of Constantinople to his death, Baldwin consumed thirteen years soliciting the Catholic powers to join in his restoration. His son Philip was the heir of an ideal empire; and the pretensions of *his* daughter Catherine were transported by her

* Θεληματάριοι; they formed a sort of militia for self-defence.

marriage to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, king of France.

Seal of Baldwin II. (from the British Museum). Obverse: ΒΑΛΔΟΥΙΝΟC . ΔЄCΠΟΤΗC . ΠΟΡΦΙΡΟΓЄΝΝΗΤΟC Ο ΦΛΑΝΔΡΑC (Βαλδουΐνος δεσπότης Πορφυρογέννητος ὁ Φλάνδρας): the emperor on horseback, bearing cruciform sceptre. Reverse: B(*alduinus*) D(*e*)I GRA(*tia*) IMP(*er*)ATOR ROMAN(*iae*) SE(*m*)P(*er*) AVG(*ustus*): the emperor seated, holding sceptre and globe surmounted by cross.

[Bréhier, *Le schisme oriental du XIe siècle* (1899); L. Duchesne, *Autonomies ecclésiastiques. Églises separées* (1896). For the fourth crusade, Count de Riant, *Exuviæ Sacræ Constantinopolitanæ* (1867–1878), and articles in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vols. xvii., xviii., xxiii.; K. Hopf, *Griechische Gesch.* in vol. lxxxv. of Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopædie*, p. 184 ff. (1867); E. Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople, being the Story of the Fourth Crusade* (1885); (the traditional view is defended by L. Streit, *Venedig und die Wendung des vierten Kreuzzuges gegen Cple.*, and J. Tessier, *La diversion zur Zara et Cple.*, 1884). Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. bk. iii. c. iii. (General History, A.D. 1185-1204); bk. iv. c. i. (Empire of Nicæa); and vol. iv. cc. iii., iv. (Latin Empire of Constantinople). For Venice, Daru, *Histoire de Venise* (general): her relations with Constantinople, E. Lentz, *Das Verhältnis Venedigs zu Byzanz nach dem Falle des Exarchats bis zum Ausgang des neunten Jahrhunderts*, pt. i. (1891); pt. ii. in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1894, p. 64 ff.; Neumann in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1892, p. 366 ff. (specially in the time of the Comneni).]

APPENDIX.

THE SCHISM OF A.D. 1054 (p. 242).

The theological and ceremonial disputes which had raged between the East and the West were largely the outcome of the aversion felt by either nation towards the other; and this aversion was not due solely to political events: it was deeply grounded in the difference of national character, which became more marked as the centuries passed and the East lost all trace of Western influence and grew more and more Oriental in character and manners. But in the eleventh century these old disputes had almost fallen asleep. What, then, was the cause of the schism of the two churches? The subject has recently been investigated by L. Bréhier in a very interesting

study, *Le schisme oriental du XIe. siècle* (1899). He points out that political relations, far from causing the rupture, were entirely favourable to a pacific solution of the religious questions. The schism was brought about by the unbridled ambition of the patriarch Michael Cerularius, the object of whose life—persistently and dexterously pursued—was to make himself master of the East, to unite in his own hands the civil as well as the religious power, perhaps even to possess himself of the Imperial crown, and so realize the dreams of his youth. To attain this object it was essential to find some force to oppose to the Imperial power; and that force was public opinion. Therefore it was that he put himself forward as the champion of orthodoxy and roused religious quarrels afresh, in order to use them as engines of attack on the pope and the emperor.* His circle of friends and partisans would make a propaganda in favour of his ideas; and, above all, he had on his side the powerful hierarchy of St. Sophia and the monks throughout the empire, who had an interest in increasing his power. With splendid dexterity he forced Constantine IX., Monomachus, to take up the attitude which his political interest demanded, viz. on the side of the pope—a course which was for the advantage of his power in Italy, but which discredited him in the eyes of his subjects. Subsequent events played into his hands, and he was making the final effort to realize his ambition when Isaac Comnenus forestalled him and cut short his career (A.D. 1059). A great deal of important evidence on the subject is furnished by the recently published works of Psellos (ed. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vols. iv., v.).

* At the same time he was undoubtedly convinced of the justice of the Greek view on the matters in dispute.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REIGNS OF THE GREEK EMPERORS, MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, THE ELDER AND THE YOUNGER ANDRONICUS, JOHN CANTACUZENE, AND JOHN PALÆOLOGUS.

§ 1. Return of the Greek emperor to Constantinople (Aug. 14, A.D. 1261). § 2. Reign of MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS (A.D. 1261–1282). § 3. His union with the Latin church. § 4. Charles of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily (A.D. 1266), and threatens the Greek empire. § 5. The Sicilian Vespers (A.D. 1282): defeat of Charles. § 6. The service and war of the Catalans in the Greek empire (A.D. 1303–1307). § 7. Reign of ANDRONICUS THE ELDER (A.D. 1282–1328): civil wars between him and the younger Andronicus. § 8. Reign of ANDRONICUS THE YOUNGER (A.D. 1328–1341). § 9. Reigns of JOHN CANTACUZENE and JOHN PALÆOLOGUS (A.D. 1341–1391). § 10. The Genoese war (A.D. 1348–1352).

Return of the Greek emperor to Constantinople (Aug. 14, A.D. 1261).

§ 1. MICHAEL made his triumphal entry into Constantinople only twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins. The French barons and the principal families had retired with their emperor, but the patient and humble crowd of Latins was attached to the country, and indifferent to the change of masters. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their proper magistrates. Of these nations the Pisans and Venetians preserved their respective quarters in the city; but the Genoese, who had assisted Alexius in the recovery of Constantinople, were settled in the exclusive possession of the suburb of Galata,* an advantageous post, in which they revived the commerce, and insulted the majesty, of the Byzantine empire.

Reign of MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS (A.D. 1261–1282).

§ 2. The recovery of Constantinople was celebrated as the æra of a new empire; the conqueror, alone, and by the right of the sword, renewed his coronation in the church of St. Sophia; and John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, was

* The ships they despatched did not arrive in time to assist in the capture. In A.D. 1275 they were settled at Heracleia on the Propontis, and, some years afterwards, were allowed to establish themselves in Galata. On Michael's relations with the Genoese and Venetians, Finlay, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 353 ff.

deprived of his eyes, and removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in privacy and oblivion. The establishment of his family was the motive, or at least the pretence, of the crime of Palæologus; and he was impatient to confirm the succession, by sharing with his eldest son the honours of the purple. Andronicus, afterwards surnamed the Elder, was proclaimed and crowned emperor of the Romans in the fifteenth year of his age; and, from the first æra of a prolix and inglorious reign, he held that august title nine years as the colleague, and forty-six as the successor, of his father (A.D. 1282–1328). Michael himself, had he died in a private station, would have been thought more worthy of the empire; but the assaults of his temporal and spiritual enemies left him few moments to labour for his own fame or the happiness of his subjects. He wrested from the Franks * several of the noblest islands of the Archipelago—Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes; his brother Constantine was sent to command in Malvasia and Sparta; and the eastern side of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli (Nauplia) to Cape Tænarus, was repossessed by the Greeks.† But in the prosecution of these western conquests the countries beyond the Hellespont were left naked to the Turks.‡ The victories of Michael were achieved by his lieutenants; his sword rusted in the palace; and, in the transactions of the emperor with the popes and the king of Naples, his political arts were stained with cruelty and fraud.

His union with the Latin church.

§ 3. The cause of Baldwin, the fugitive emperor, was espoused by the pope Urban IV., and his successor Gregory X., by whose orders a crusade was preached against the schismatic Greeks. To avert this danger Michael consented to a reconciliation with the Latin church, and sent an embassy to Rome, instructed to comply with the demands of the pope. The ambassadors were received in the general council of Lyons by Gregory X., who rejoiced in the union of the East and West, which had been reserved for his reign (A.D. 1274). To consummate this pious work the Byzantine deputies were speedily followed by the pope's nuncios; but they found a country without a friend, a nation in which the names of Rome and Union were pronounced with abhorrence. By the joint suffrage of the new and the ancient Rome, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the obstinate schismatics; the censures of the church were executed by the sword of Michael; and on the failure of persuasion, he tried the arguments of prison and exile, of

* Not so; but they were included in his empire.

† In return for his release, the prince of Achaia ceded to Michael Monemvasia (Malvasia), Misithra, and Maina,—which gave him the command of the whole Laconian coast,—and swore perpetual friendship, but did not long respect his oath.

‡ The Seljuks took Nyssa and Tralleis in the Mæander valley, while the Ottoman Turks were carving out an empire in North Phrygia and Bithynia (from Dorylæum to neighbourhood of Brusa, Nicæa, and Nicomedeia).

CHAPTER XXXV.

REIGNS OF THE GREEK EMPERORS, MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, THE ELDER AND THE YOUNGER ANDRONICUS, JOHN CANTACUZENE, AND JOHN PALÆOLOGUS.

§ 1. Return of the Greek emperor to Constantinople (Aug. 14, A.D. 1261). § 2. Reign of MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS (A.D. 1261–1282). § 3. His union with the Latin church. § 4. Charles of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily (A.D. 1266), and threatens the Greek empire. § 5. The Sicilian Vespers (A.D. 1282): defeat of Charles. § 6. The service and war of the Catalans in the Greek empire (A.D. 1303–1307). § 7. Reign of ANDRONICUS THE ELDER (A.D. 1282–1328): civil wars between him and the younger Andronicus. § 8. Reign of ANDRONICUS THE YOUNGER (A.D. 1328–1341). § 9. Reigns of JOHN CANTACUZENE and JOHN PALÆOLOGUS (A.D. 1341–1391). § 10. The Genoese war (A.D. 1348–1352).

Return of the Greek emperor to Constantinople (Aug. 14, A.D. 1261).

§ 1. MICHAEL made his triumphal entry into Constantinople only twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins. The French barons and the principal families had retired with their emperor, but the patient and humble crowd of Latins was attached to the country, and indifferent to the change of masters. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their proper magistrates. Of these nations the Pisans and Venetians preserved their respective quarters in the city; but the Genoese, who had assisted Alexius in the recovery of Constantinople, were settled in the exclusive possession of the suburb of Galata,* an advantageous post, in which they revived the commerce, and insulted the majesty, of the Byzantine empire.

Reign of MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS (A.D. 1261–1282).

§ 2. The recovery of Constantinople was celebrated as the æra of a new empire; the conqueror, alone, and by the right of the sword, renewed his coronation in the church of St. Sophia; and John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, was

* The ships they despatched did not arrive in time to assist in the capture. In A.D. 1275 they were settled at Heracleia on the Propontis, and, some years afterwards, were allowed to establish themselves in Galata. On Michael's relations with the Genoese and Venetians, Finlay, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 353 ff.

deprived of his eyes, and removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in privacy and oblivion. The establishment of his family was the motive, or at least the pretence, of the crime of Palæologus; and he was impatient to confirm the succession, by sharing with his eldest son the honours of the purple. Andronicus, afterwards surnamed the Elder, was proclaimed and crowned emperor of the Romans in the fifteenth year of his age; and, from the first æra of a prolix and inglorious reign, he held that august title nine years as the colleague, and forty-six as the successor, of his father (A.D. 1282–1328). Michael himself, had he died in a private station, would have been thought more worthy of the empire; but the assaults of his temporal and spiritual enemies left him few moments to labour for his own fame or the happiness of his subjects. He wrested from the Franks* several of the noblest islands of the Archipelago—Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes; his brother Constantine was sent to command in Malvasia and Sparta; and the eastern side of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli (Nauplia) to Cape Tænarus, was repossessed by the Greeks.† But in the prosecution of these western conquests the countries beyond the Hellespont were left naked to the Turks.‡ The victories of Michael were achieved by his lieutenants; his sword rusted in the palace; and, in the transactions of the emperor with the popes and the king of Naples, his political arts were stained with cruelty and fraud.

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§ 3. The cause of Baldwin, the fugitive emperor, was espoused by the pope Urban IV., and his successor Gregory X., by whose orders a crusade was preached against the schismatic Greeks. To avert this danger Michael consented to a reconciliation with the Latin church, and sent an embassy to Rome, instructed to comply with the demands of the pope. The ambassadors were received in the general council of Lyons by Gregory X., who rejoiced in the union of the East and West, which had been reserved for his reign (A.D. 1274). To consummate this pious work the Byzantine deputies were speedily followed by the pope's nuncios; but they found a country without a friend, a nation in which the names of Rome and Union were pronounced with abhorrence. By the joint suffrage of the new and the ancient Rome, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the obstinate schismatics; the censures of the church were executed by the sword of Michael; and on the failure of persuasion, he tried the arguments of prison and exile, of

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‡ The Seljuks took Nyssa and Tralleis in the Mæander valley, while the Ottoman Turks were carving out an empire in North Phrygia and Bithynia (from Dorylæum to neighbourhood of Brusa, Nicæa, and Nicomedeia).

whipping and mutilation. But while his violence was abhorred at Constantinople, at Rome his slowness was arraigned and his sincerity suspected; till at length pope Martin IV. excluded the Greek emperor from the pale of a church into which he was striving to reduce a schismatic people. No sooner had the tyrant expired than the union was dissolved and abjured by unanimous consent; and his son Andronicus, after weeping the sins and errors of his youth, most piously denied his father the burial of a prince and a Christian.

Charles of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily (A.D. 1266), and threatens the Greek empire.

§ 4. Among the Western powers, who threatened the throne of Michael, the most formidable neighbour was the sovereign of the Two Sicilies. These countries were now possessed by Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, the brother of St. Louis, who had conquered and slain in battle Mainfroy [Manfred], the bastard of Frederic II. (A.D. 1266). Naples and Sicily were immediately peopled with a warlike race of French nobles; and their aspiring leader resolved to direct his arms against the Byzantine empire. His daughter Beatrice was promised to Philip, son and heir of the emperor Baldwin; and his generous father distributed among his allies the kingdoms and provinces of the East. The hostile league against the Greeks, of Philip the Latin emperor, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the republic of Venice, was ripened into execution; and the election of Martin IV., a French pope, gave a sanction to the cause. The ruin of Constantinople seemed inevitable; but a memorable conspiracy in Sicily saved the Greek empire.

The Sicilian Vespers (A.D. 1282): defeat of Charles.

§ 5. Among the proscribed adherents of the house of Swabia, John of Procida forfeited a small island of that name in the bay of Naples. His birth was noble, but his education was learned; and in the poverty of exile he was relieved by the practice of physic, which he had studied in the school of Salerno.* Fortune had left him nothing to lose, except life; and to despise life is the first qualification of a rebel. The new kingdoms of Charles were afflicted by every species of fiscal and military oppression; the hatred of Naples was repressed by his presence; but the looser government of his vicegerents excited the contempt, as well as the aversion, of the Sicilians, and the island was roused to a sense of freedom by the eloquence of Procida. In the confidence of foreign aid, he successively visited the courts of the Greek emperor and of Peter, king of Arragon, who possessed the maritime countries of Valentia and Catalonia. To the ambitious Peter a crown was presented, which he might justly claim by his marriage with the daughter of Mainfroy, and by the dying voice of Conradin, who from the scaffold had cast a ring to his heir and avenger. Palæologus was easily persuaded to divert his enemy from a foreign war by a rebellion at home; and a Greek subsidy of 25,000 ounces of gold was most profitably applied to arm a Catalan fleet, which sailed under an holy banner to the specious attack of the Saracens of Africa. In the disguise

* See ch. xxxi. § 8.

of a monk or beggar, the indefatigable missionary of revolt flew from Constantinople to Rome, and from Sicily to Saragossa; the treaty was sealed with the signet of pope Nicholas himself, the enemy of Charles; and his deed of gift transferred the fiefs of St. Peter from the house of Anjou to that of Arragon. So widely diffused and so freely circulated, the secret was preserved above two years with impenetrable discretion; and each of the conspirators imbibed the maxim of Peter, who declared that he would cut off his left hand if it were conscious of the intentions of his right. The mine was prepared with deep and dangerous artifice; but it may be questioned whether the instant explosion of Palermo were the effect of accident or design.

On the vigil of Easter a procession of the disarmed citizens visited a church without the walls, and a noble damsel was rudely insulted by a French soldier. The ravisher was instantly punished with death; and if the people was at first scattered by a military force, their numbers and fury prevailed: the conspirators seized the opportunity; the flame spread over the island, and 8000 French were exterminated in a promiscuous massacre, which has obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS (A.D. 1282, March 30). From every city the banners of freedom and the church were displayed; the revolt was inspired by the presence or the soul of Procida; and Peter of Arragon, who sailed from the African coast to Palermo, was saluted as the king and saviour of the isle. The fleet and army of Charles, which already filled the seaports of Italy, were hastily recalled from the service of the Grecian war; and the situation of Messina exposed that town to the first storm of his revenge. The despair of the Messinese gave them courage; Peter of Arragon approached to their relief, and his rival was driven back by the failure of provision and the terrors of the equinox to the Calabrian shore. At the same moment the Catalan admiral, the famous Roger de Loria, swept the channel with an invincible squadron: the French fleet was either burnt or destroyed; and the same blow assured the independence of Sicily and the safety of the Greek empire. From this disastrous moment the life of Charles was a series of misfortunes: his capital was insulted, his son was made prisoner, and he sunk into the grave without recovering the isle of Sicily, which, after a war of twenty years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Arragon.

The service and war of the Catalans in the Greek empire (A.D. 1303–1307).

§ 6. The first Palæologus had saved his empire by involving the kingdoms of the West in rebellion and blood; but from these seeds of discord uprose a generation of iron men, who assaulted and endangered the empire of his son. After the peace of Sicily many thousands of Genoese, Catalans, etc., who had fought by sea and land under the standard of Anjou or Arragon, were blended into one nation by the resemblance of their manners and interest. They enlisted in the service of the Greek emperor,

and under the command of Roger de Flor, the most popular of their chiefs, they defeated the Turks in two bloody battles [A.D. 1304]. But the Catalans considered the lives and fortunes which they had rescued as their own: the exaction of fines and supplies was enforced by licentious rapine and arbitrary executions; and, on the resistance of Magnesia, Roger besieged a city of the Roman empire. Assassination is the last resource of cowards. Roger was tempted to visit the royal residence of Adrianople; in the apartment, and before the eyes, of the empress he was stabbed by the Alani guards; and his countrymen, who dwelt at Constantinople in the security of peace, were involved in the same proscription by the prince or people [A.D. 1305]. The loss of their leader intimidated the crowd of adventurers, who hoisted the sails of flight, and were soon scattered round the coasts of the Mediterranean. But a veteran band of 1500 Catalans or French stood firm in the strong fortress of Gallipoli on the Hellespont, and defeated in two battles by sea and land the forces of the Greek empire. Victory renewed the hopes and numbers of the adventurers; every nation was blended under the name and standard of the *Great Company;* and 3000 Turkish proselytes deserted from the Imperial service to join this military association. Four times the emperor Andronicus sued for peace, and four times he was inflexibly repulsed, till the want of provisions and the discord of the chiefs compelled the Catalans to evacuate the banks of the Hellespont and the neighbourhood of the capital. After their separation from the Turks, the remains of the great company pursued their march through Macedonia and Thessaly, to seek a new establishment in the heart of Greece.*

Reign of ANDRONICUS THE ELDER (A.D. 1282–1328): civil wars between him and the younger Andronicus.

§ 7. The long reign of Andronicus the elder is chiefly memorable by the invasion of the Catalans, and the rise of the Ottoman power.† After the example of the first of the Palæologi, he associated his son Michael to the honours of the purple; and from the age of eighteen to his premature death, that prince was acknowledged, above twenty-five years, as the second emperor of the Greeks. The son of Michael was named Andronicus from his grandfather; he was educated in the palace as an heir and a favourite; and in the oaths and acclamations of the people, the *august triad* was formed by the names of the father, the son, and the grandson. But the younger Andronicus was speedily corrupted by his infant greatness, while he beheld with puerile impatience the double obstacle that hung, and might long hang, over his rising ambition. After the death of Michael the elder, the emperor transferred to another grandson his hopes and

* After defeating and slaying Walter de Brienne, duke of Athens, they conquered the duchy and settled there.

† Before the end of his reign Brusa and Nicomedeia had fallen to the Ottomans (A.D. 1326), while the Seljuk kingdom of Rūm had broken up and was divided into nine principalities, named after the revolted provincial governors (*emirs*) who founded them (Karaman, Aïdin, etc.).

affections; and the acknowledged heir was exposed to the indignity of a public trial. But the young emperor escaped from the capital; and the empire was distracted by three civil wars between the elder and the younger Andronicus during a ruinous period of seven years (A.D. 1321–1328). The third civil war was terminated by the surprise of Constantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the sole reign of his victorious grandson (A.D. 1328). The elder Andronicus survived his abdication four years, and having assumed the monastic habit, he expired as the monk *Antony*, in a cell, in the seventy-fourth year of his age (A.D. 1332).

Reign of ANDRONICUS THE YOUNGER (A.D. 1328–1341).

§ 8. Nor was the reign of the younger, more glorious or fortunate than that of the elder, Andronicus (A.D. 1328–1341). He marched in person against the Turks; but a defeat and a wound were the only trophies of his expedition in Asia, which confirmed the establishment of the Ottoman monarchy.* Andronicus was old before his time; the intemperance of youth had accelerated the infirmities of age; and he was snatched away before he had accomplished his forty-fifth year. He was twice married; and his two wives were chosen in the princely houses of Germany and Italy. The first, Agnes at home, Irene in Greece, was daughter of the duke of Brunswick. After the death of this childless princess, Andronicus sought in marriage Jane, the sister of the count of Savoy, who was crowned in St. Sophia under the more orthodox appellation of Anne.

Reigns of JOHN CANTACUZENE and JOHN PALÆOLOGUS (A.D. 1341–1391).

§ 9. The empress Anne of Savoy survived her husband. Their son, John Palæologus, was left an orphan and an emperor in the ninth year of his age (A.D. 1341–1391); and the last testament of Andronicus the younger named John Cantacuzene, the first and most deserving of the Greeks, the guardian of his son and the regent of the empire. The long and cordial friendship of the younger Andronicus for John Cantacuzene is alike honourable to the prince and the subject. It had been formed amidst the pleasures of their youth; it was Cantacuzene who saved the young emperor from the power of his grandfather; and, after six years of civil war, the same favourite brought him back in triumph to the palace of Constantinople. Under the reign of Andronicus the younger, the great domestic † ruled the emperor and the empire; and it was by his valour and conduct that the isle of Lesbos and the principality of Ætolia were restored to their ancient allegiance. Had the regent found a suitable return of obedience and gratitude, perhaps he would have acted with pure and zealous fidelity in the service of his pupil; but the prospect of a tranquil minority was blasted by the great duke or admiral Apocaucus, who persuaded the empress Anne of Savoy and the patriarch to join him in a conspiracy against the great domestic. In his absence on the public service, John Cantacuzene was proscribed as an enemy of the church and state; and he was driven by injustice to perpetrate the crime of

* Under Orkhan (p. 278). † See ch. xxix. § 7.

which he was accused. Constantinople adhered to the young emperor; but the cause of Cantacuzene was espoused in some of the provinces: for nearly six years (A.D. 1341–1347) the empire was a prey to civil war, and the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Turks were invoked on both sides as the instruments of private ambition and the common ruin. Cantacuzene at length obtained the victory through the assistance of the Turks, who were less barbarous, perhaps, than the shepherds of Bulgaria and Servia.* But the succour and victory were dearly purchased by the marriage of his daughter with an infidel, the captivity of many thousand Christians, and the passage of the Ottomans into Europe, the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the Roman empire. Upon his return to the capital, Cantacuzene, who professed a loyal and zealous attachment to the son of his benefactor, acknowledged young Palæologus as his colleague; but his reign and triumph were soon disturbed by new civil wars. Twice did the son of Andronicus take up arms against his elder colleague, and twice Cantacuzene gained the victory. After his defeat the young emperor, driven from the sea and land, was compelled to take shelter among the Latins of the isle of Tenedos. His insolence and obstinacy provoked the victor to a step which must render the quarrel irreconcilable; and the association of his son Matthew, whom he invested with the purple, established the succession in the family of the Cantacuzeni. But Constantinople was still attached to the blood of her ancient princes, and this last injury accelerated the restoration of the rightful heir. A noble Genoese espoused the cause of Palæologus, obtained a promise of his sister, and achieved the revolution with two galleys and 2500 auxiliaries. Under the pretence of distress they were admitted into the lesser port; a gate was opened, and the Latin shout of "Long life and victory to the emperor John Palæologus!" was answered by a general rising in his favour. Cantacuzene descended from the throne, and embraced the monastic habit and profession (A.D. 1355). The remainder of his life was devoted to piety and learning, and in his cell he composed the memorials of his time, from the revolt of the young Andronicus to his own abdication of the empire.

The Genoese war (A.D. 1348–1352).

§ 10. During the reign of Cantacuzene the Genoese war shook the throne of Cantacuzene and betrayed the debility of the Greek empire. The Genoese, who, after the recovery of Constantinople, were seated in the suburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable fief from the bounty of the emperor.† They were not, however, allowed to fortify Galata; and the defenceless situation which secured their obedience exposed them to the attack of their Venetian rivals, who, in the reign of the elder

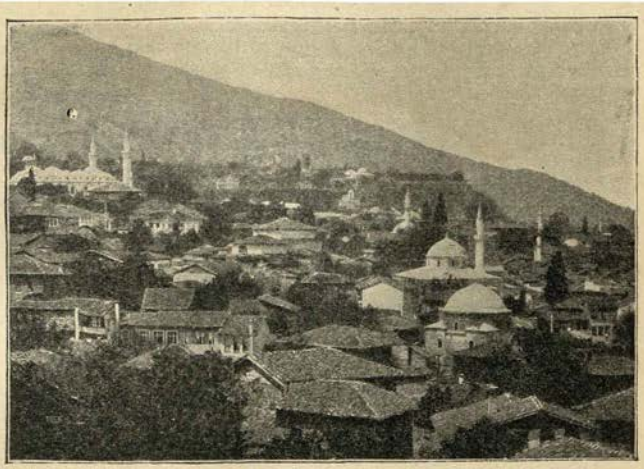
* The remark is very unfair to the able and sagacious king of Servia, Stephen Dushan, who was the most powerful ruler in the Balkan peninsula at this time. For his empire, his code of laws, and his encouragement of trade, Finlay, vol. iii. p. 441 f.

† Above, § 1 and *note*.

Andronicus, reduced their quarter to ashes. This misfortune, however, was advantageous to the Genoese, who obtained, and imperceptibly abused, the dangerous licence of surrounding Galata with fortifications. The narrow bounds in which they had been circumscribed were insufficient for the growing colony; each day they acquired some addition of landed property, and the adjacent hills were covered with their villas and castles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications. They gradually obtained the exclusive enjoyment of the lucrative trade of the Black Sea; their rivals of Venice and Pisa were forcibly expelled; the natives were awed by the castles and cities which arose on the foundations of their humble factories; and their principal establishment of Caffa was besieged without effect by the Tartar powers. Destitute of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed or famished Constantinople according to their interest.

These usurpations were encouraged by the weakness of the elder Andronicus, and by the civil wars that afflicted his age and the minority of his grandson. After Cantacuzene had obtained possession of the empire, he was condemned to an ignominious trial, whether the Greeks or the Genoese should reign in Constantinople. His fleet was destroyed by the Genoese (A.D. 1349); nor was his second attempt to chastise these insolent neighbours more successful. He joined his arms with the Venetians, the perpetual enemies of Genoa and her colonies; and a memorable battle was fought in the narrow sea, under the walls of Constantinople. The Venetians and the Greeks were defeated (A.D. 1352); and the emperor Cantacuzene solicited and subscribed a treaty, which for ever banished the Venetians, and granted to the Genoese a monopoly of trade and almost a right of dominion. The Roman empire (I smile in transcribing the name) might soon have sunk into a province of Genoa, if the ambition of the republic had not been checked by the ruin of her freedom and naval power. A long contest of 130 years was determined by the triumph of Venice; and the factions of the Genoese compelled them to seek for domestic peace under the protection of a foreign lord, the duke of Milan, or the French king. Yet the spirit of commerce survived that of conquest; and the colony of Pera still awed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final servitude of Constantinople itself.

[Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. bk. iv. c. ii.; V. Parisot, *Cantacuzène, homme d'état et historien* (1845); F. de Moncada and Spazier, *Zug der Catalonier und Aragonier gegen die Türken und Griechen* (1828); Dräseke, *Der Kircheneinigungsversuch des Kaisers Michael VIII.*, in *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theologie*, 1891, p. 325 ff.]



Brusa, the capital of the Ottoman Turks in Asia.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE MONGOLS AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS.

§ 1. Tchingis Khan, first emperor of the Mongols and Tartars (A.D. 1206–1227). § 2. Conquest of Tchingis. § 3. Conquests of his successors. § 4. I. Of China (A.D. 1234–1279). § 5. II. Of Persia and the empire of the caliphs (A.D. 1258). § 6. III. Of Kiptchak, Russia, Poland, Hungary, etc. (A.D. 1237–1241). § 7. IV. Of Siberia, etc. (A.D. 1242, etc.). § 8. The successors of Tchingis (A.D. 1227–1368): division of the Mongol empire. § 9. Origin of the Ottoman Turks: reign of Othman (A.D. 1299–1326). § 10. Reign of Orchan (A.D. 1326–1360): establishment of the Ottomans in Europe. § 11. Reign and conquests of Amurath [Murād] I. (A.D. 1360–1389). § 12. Reign of Bayazid I. (A.D. 1389–1402). § 13. The emperors JOHN PALÆOLOGUS and MANUEL. § 14. Early history of TIMOUR or TAMERLANE: he ascends the throne of Tchagatai (A.D. 1370). § 15. His conquests: I. Of Persia (A.D. 1384–1393): II. Of Turkestan (A.D. 1370–1383), Kiptchak, etc.: III. Of Hindustan (A.D. 1398–1399). § 16. His war against Bayazid (A.D. 1400): he invades Syria (A.D. 1400). § 17. Battle of Angora: defeat and captivity of Bayazid (A.D. 1402). § 18. Term of the conquests of Timour: his death on the road to China (A.D. 1405). § 19. His character and merits. § 20. Reigns of Mahomet [Mohammed] I. and Amurath [Murād] II. § 21. Siege of Constantinople by Amurath II. (A.D. 1422): JOHN PALÆOLOGUS II.

Tchingis Khan, first emperor of the Mongols and Tartars (A.D. 1206–1227).

§ 1. FROM the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to the victorious Turks; whose domestic slavery was ennobled

by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruption of the Mongols * and Tartars, whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe.

From the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral tribes, of the same † descent and similar manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Tchingis (or Jingis) (A.D. 1206–1227). In his ascent to greatness that barbarian (whose private appellation was Temujin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which composed about thirty or forty thousand families; above two-thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son; and at the age of thirteen [A.D. 1175] Temujin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects. The future conqueror of Asia was reduced to fly and to obey; ‡ but he rose superior to his fortune, and in his fortieth year he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. After his first victory he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent; and the boldest chieftains might tremble when they beheld, enchased in silver, the skull of the khan § of the Keraites; who, under the name of Prester John, had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temujin condescended to employ the arts of superstition; and it was from a naked prophet, who could

* The form *Mogul* or *Moghul*, used of the Mongol emperors of Hindustan, arose through the Arabic Mughal. On the names Mongol and Tartar, see vol. i. p. 229, and *note*. The Tartars (more strictly Tatars) were really certain tribes living in the north-eastern corner of Mongolia, and were, in part at least, of Tungusic (p. 229) race. But the name was applied by the Chinese to all the tribes living to the north of their own country, and from them it passed to the Europeans as the designation of the Mongol horde which invaded Europe (§ 6, below). Now, the main body of that horde was composed of Turkish tribes whom the Mongols had conquered, and hence Turk and Tartar became synonymous terms with Western writers. The name Mongol is derived from *mong*, "brave." The real Mongolian tribes were not numerous; they were formerly subject to the Turks of Eastern Asia (Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. i. pp. 25, 700, etc.).

† The Mongols, of course, were not Turks, though the main part of Tchingis' army was.

‡ His regent mother was the leader: she succeeded in bringing back several of the tribes to their allegiance.

§ His name was Wang Khān.

ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Tchingis, the *Most Great;* and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth. In a general *kuriltai* or diet (A.D. 1206) he was seated on a felt, which was long afterwards revered as a relic, and solemnly proclaimed great khan or emperor of the Mongols and Tartars. Of these kindred, though rival, names, the former had given birth to the imperial race, and the latter has been extended by accident or error over the spacious wilderness of the north.

Conquests of Tchingis.

§ 2. The arms of Tchingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mongol emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. Tchingis conducted in person two expeditions against China, took the royal city of Pekin, and annexed the five northern provinces to his empire. He next turned his arms against Mohammed, sultan of Carizme,* who reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan. The rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorazan were subdued: from the Caspian to the Indus the destructive hordes of Tchingis ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind; and five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. Could the Carizmian empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by Gelaleddin,† the son of the sultan Mohammed, whose active valour repeatedly checked the Mongols in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their innumerable host, till, in the last moment of despair, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Tchingis himself [A.D. 1221]. It was here that the Mongol conqueror yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land.‡ After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes he was joined by two generals whom he had detached with 30,000 horse to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted and has never been repeated. The return of Tchingis was signalized by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary; and he died in

* *I.e.* Khiva (note on p. 205).

† *G* is to be pronounced as *J*.

‡ The reasons for his return were that (1) he was apprehensive of a revolt in the north-west of China (Tangut), and (2) he feared the deadly summer heats.

the fulness of years and glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese empire (A.D. 1227).

Conquests of his successors.

§ 3. Of the numerous progeny of Tchingis, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Juji was his great huntsman, Tchagatai his judge, Ogotai his minister, and Tului his general; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests. Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent sceptres; and Ogotai, by general consent, was proclaimed great khan, or emperor of the Mongols and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Kuyuk, after whose death the empire devolved to his cousins Mangu and Khubilai, the sons of Tului, and the grandsons of Tchingis. In the sixty-seven years (1227–1294) of his four first successors, the Mongol subdued almost all Asia and a large portion of Europe. Without expatiating on the detail of events, I shall present a general picture of the progress of their arms; I. In the East; II. In the South; III. In the West; and IV. In the North.

I. Of China (A.D. 1234, 1279).

§ 4. I. Before the invasion of Tchingis, China was divided into two empires or dynasties of the North and South; and the difference of origin and interest was smoothed by a general conformity of laws, language, and national manners. The Northern [or Kin] empire, which had been dismembered by Tchingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death (A.D. 1234). The Southern [or Sung] empire survived about forty-five years longer, and the perfect conquest was reserved for the arms of Khubilai (A.D. 1279).* The boundless ambition of Khubilai aspired to the conquest of Japan:† his fleet was twice shipwrecked; and the lives of 100,000 Mongols and Chinese were sacrificed in the fruitless expedition [A.D. 1274]. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochin-china, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience by the effort or terror of his arms.

II. Of Persia and the empire of the caliphs (A.D. 1258).

§ 5. II. The conquest of Iran, or Persia, was achieved by Hulagu Khan, the grandson of Tchingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two successive emperors, Mangu and Khubilai. I shall not enumerate the crowd of sultans, emirs, and atabeks whom he trampled into dust; but the extirpation of the *Assassins*, or Ismaelians of Persia, may be considered as a service to mankind. Among the hills to the south of the Caspian these odious sectaries had reigned with impunity above 160 years; and their prince, or imam, established his lieutenant to lead and govern the colony of Mount Libanus, so famous and formidable in the

* He made Peking his court (§ 8). Khubilāi is Coleridge's Kubla Khan; the poet had been reading Marco Polo's narrative before he fell asleep.

† Japan is a Chinese name, "the island of the East" [*Je* (sun), *pen* (rising)].

history of the crusades.* With the fanaticism of the Koran the Ismaelians had blended the Indian transmigration and the visions of their own prophets; and it was their first duty to devote their souls and bodies in blind obedience to the vicar of God.† The daggers of his missionaries were felt both in the East and West: the Christians and the Moslems enumerate, and perhaps multiply, the illustrious victims that were sacrificed to the zeal, avarice, or resentment of *the old man* (as he was corruptly styled) *of the mountain*. But these daggers, his only arms, were broken by the sword of Hulagu and not a vestige is left of the enemies of mankind, except the word *assassin*, which, in the most odious sense, has been adopted in the languages of Europe. The extinction of the Abbassides cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants the caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad; but the city was stormed and sacked by the Mongols; and their savage commander pronounced the death of the caliph Mostasim, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet (A.D. 1258); whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above 500 years. The Mongols spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost had she been defended only by her feeble offspring; but the Mamalukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air: equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Mongols in many a well-fought field; and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. But it overflowed with resistless violence the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians and the latter by the Turks. The sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mongol arms till Azzadin [Izz-ed-din] sought a refuge among the Greeks of Constantinople, and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian dynasty, were finally extirpated by the khans of Persia.

III. Of Kiptchak, Russia, Poland, Hungary, etc. (A.D. 1237–1241).

§ 6. III. No sooner had Ogotai subverted the northern empire of China than he resolved to visit with his arms the most remote countries of the West. Fifteen hundred thousand Mongols and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll; of these the great khan selected a third, which he entrusted to the command of his nephew Batu, the son of Juji, who reigned

* The Syrian Assassins were nearly extirpated by the Mamluk sultan Bāybars about A.D. 1270. Small bodies are said to exist still in the mountains.

† The sect was formed in the eleventh century. It held the speculative doctrines of the Ismailis (cf. p. 147, *note*), especially that actions are morally indifferent, only the motives being of importance; but its distinctive characteristic was the employment of secret assassination against its foes. Its emissaries were intoxicated with an opiate made from hemp (*ḥashīsh*), whence their name *Hashīshīn*, which was transported to Europe as *Assassin*. [Von Hammer, *Geschichte d. Assassinen* (1818), translated by O. C. Wood; F. Walpole, *The Ansayrii or Assassins* (1851)]

over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian Sea.* After a festival of forty days, Batu set forwards on this great expedition; and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, that in less than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. By the first victories of Batu the remains of national freedom were eradicated in the immense plains of Turkestan and Kiptchak.† The civil discord of the great dukes, or princes, of Russia betrayed their country to the Tartars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiev [A.D. 1240], the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes; a temporary ruin, less fatal than the deep, and perhaps indelible, mark which a servitude of 200 years has imprinted on the character of the Russians. From the permanent conquest of Russia they made a deadly, though transient, inroad into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated; they approached the shores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz they defeated the dukes of Silesia, the Polish palatines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain [A.D. 1241]. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their western march, they turned aside to the invasion of Hungary;‡ the king, Bela IV., assembled the military force of his counts and bishops; but the whole country north of the Danube was lost in a day and depopulated in a summer; and the ruins of cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives, who expiated the sins of their Asiatic ancestors. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary three alone survived the Tartar invasion, and the unfortunate Bela hid his head among the islands of the Adriatic.

Since the invasion of the Arabs in the eighth century Europe had never been exposed to a similar calamity; and if the disciples of Mahomet would have oppressed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society. The emperor Frederic II. called upon the kings of France and England and the princes of Germany to arm their vassals in this just and rational crusade. The Tartars themselves were awed by the fame and valour of the Franks; the town of Neustadt in Austria was bravely defended against them by fifty knights and twenty cross-bows; and they raised the siege on the appearance of a German army. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, Batu

* The tribes subject to Batu were called the *Golden Horde* after the name of the khan's camp, *Sir Orda*, or Golden Camp.

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was recalled from the Danube to the Volga by the death of Ogotai [Dec. 11, A.D. 1241].

IV. Of Siberia, etc. (A.D. 1242, etc.).

§ 7. IV. Even the poor and frozen regions of the north attracted the arms of the Mongols: Sheibani Khan, the brother of the great Batu, led an horde of 15,000 families into the wilds of Siberia; and his descendants reigned at Tobolskoi above three centuries till the Russian conquest. The spirit of enterprise which pursued the course of the Oby and Yenisei must have led to the discovery of the Icy Sea. Fifteen years after the death of Tchingis the Mongols were informed of the name and manners of the Samoyedes in the neighbourhood of the polar circle, who dwelt in subterraneous huts and derived their furs and their food from the sole occupation of hunting.

The successors of Tchingis (A.D. 1227–1368).

§ 8. While China, Syria, and Poland were invaded at the same time by the Mongols and Tartars, the authors of the mighty mischief were content with the knowledge and declaration that their word was the sword of death. Like the first caliphs, the first successors of Tchingis seldom appeared in person at the head of their victorious armies. They were seated on the borders of China; and the Mongols submitted to the laws, the fashions, and even the prejudices, of the vanquished people. This peaceful triumph, which has been more than once repeated, may be ascribed, in a great measure, to the numbers and servitude of the Chinese. The Mongol army was dissolved in a vast and populous country; and their emperors adopted with pleasure a political system which gives to the prince the solid substance of despotism and leaves to the subject the empty names of philosophy, freedom, and filial obedience. Khubilai fixed his residence at Pekin, and displayed in his court the magnificence of the greatest monarch of Asia. His successors polluted the palace with a crowd of eunuchs, physicians, and astrologers; 140 years after the death of Tchingis, his degenerate race, the dynasty of the Yuen, was expelled by a revolt of the native Chinese; and the Mongol emperors were lost in the oblivion of the desert [A.D. 1368].

Division of the Mongol empire.

Before this revolution they had forfeited their supremacy over the dependent branches of their house, the khans of Kiptchak and Russia, the khans of Tchagatai or Transoxiana, and the khans of Iran or Persia. By their distance and power these royal lieutenants had soon been released from the duties of obedience; and after the death of Khubilai they scorned to accept a sceptre or a title from his unworthy successors. According to their respective situation, they maintained the simplicity of the pastoral life or assumed the luxury of the cities of Asia; but the princes and their hordes were alike disposed for the reception of a foreign worship. After some hesitation between the Gospel and the Koran, they conformed to the religion of Mahomet; and while they adopted for their brethren the Arabs and Persians, they renounced all intercourse with the ancient Mongols, the idolaters of China.

§ 9. The decline of the Mongols gave a free scope to the rise and progress of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Origin of the Ottoman Turks: reign of Othman (A.D. 1299–1326).

After the retreat of Tchingis, the sultan Gelaleddin of Carizme had returned from India to the possession and defence of his Persian kingdoms. In the space of eleven years that hero fought in person fourteen battles; but he was oppressed by the jealousy of the Moslem princes and the innumerable armies of the Mongols; and after his last defeat Gelaleddin perished ignobly in the mountains of Curdistan.* His death dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carizmians or Corasmins many Turkman hordes that had attached themselves to the sultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem; the more humble engaged in the service of Aladin [Ala-ed-din], sultan of Iconium, and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. They had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Nesa; and it is somewhat remarkable that the same spot should have produced the first authors of the Parthian and Turkish empires. At the head, or in the rear, of a Carizmian army, Soliman [Sulaiman] Shah was drowned in the passage of the Euphrates: his son Ertogrul became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and established at Sugut, on the banks of the Sangarius, a camp of 400 families or tents, whom he governed fifty-two years both in peace and war. He was the father of Othman, who is regarded as the founder of the Ottoman empire.† Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more,‡ and the distance and decline of the Mongol khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situate on the verge of the Greek empire; the Koran sanctified his *ghazi*, or holy war, against the infidels; and in the year 1299 he first invaded the territory of Nicomedia. The annals of the twenty-seven years of his reign (A.D. 1299–1326) would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; but it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa (now Brusa), which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Orchan (A.D. 1326).

Reign of Orchan (A.D. 1326–1360): establishment of the Ottomans in Europe.

§ 10. From the conquest of Prusa we may date the true æra of the Ottoman empire. The city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital; it was decorated with a mosque, a college, and an hospital, of royal foundation; and the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and

* A.D. 1231. See Howorth, vol. i. pp. 126–131.

† Othman is pronounced Osman in Turkish, and from him the Turks call themselves *Osmanlis*, which has been corrupted into Ottoman.

‡ On the break-up of the empire of Rûm at the end of the thirteenth century, cf. p. 266, *note* †.

impression of the new dynasty. The Greeks, by their intestine divisions, were the authors of their final ruin. During the civil wars of the elder and younger Andronicus, Orchan achieved, almost without resistance, the conquest of Bithynia; during the reign of the latter, he completed the reduction of the province as far as the shores of the Bosporus and the Hellespont (A.D. 1326–1339);* and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of his reign. In the defence of his life and honour, Cantacuzene called to his aid the public enemies of his religion and country: to cement the alliance he gave his own daughter Theodora in marriage to Orchan (A.D. 1346); and the Turkish prince restored his father-in-law to the empire.† But it was in his last quarrel with John Palæologus that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound which could never be healed by his successors. Soliman [Sulaimān], the son of Orchan, at the head of 10,000 horse, was transported to Europe in the vessels, and entertained as the friend, of the Greek emperor. In the civil wars of Romania he performed some service and perpetrated more mischief; but the Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony; and the Byzantine court solicited in vain the restitution of the fortresses of Thrace (A.D. 1353).‡ The abdication of Cantacuzene dissolved the feeble bands of domestic alliance; and his death was soon followed by that of Soliman and Orchan. The former was killed by a fall from his horse; and the aged Orchan wept and expired on the tomb of his valiant son (A.D. 1360).

Reign and conquests of Amurath [Murād] I. (A.D. 1360–1389).

§ 11. But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies; and the Turkish scimitar was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath [Murād] I., the son of Orchan and the brother of Soliman (A.D. 1360–1389). He subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus and the verge of the capital; and Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe.§ Constantinople had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the East and West; but never till this fatal hour had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for a while this easy conquest; and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of the emperor John Palæologus and his four sons, who followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He

* In A.D. 1336 Pergamon was taken, and Mysia (emirate of Karāsī) was reduced in a few years.

† The Turk was allowed, as a reward for his services, to transport Christians for sale in Asia (Ducas, p. 32).

‡ Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, was rebuilt and garrisoned by the Turks in A.D. 1358.

§ Adrianople fell in A.D. 1361; under Mohammed I. it became the metropolis of the Ottoman empire.

marched against the Slavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. They have been distinguished in every age by their hardiness of mind and body; and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness. The vizir of Amúrath reminded his sovereign that, according to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed: the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish, Hadji Bektash. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words: "Let them be called Janizaries (*Yeñi cheri*, or new soldiers); may their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! may their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies; and wheresoever they go, may they return with a *white face!*" Such was the origin* of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. At the time of their institution they possessed a decisive superiority in war; since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their *idolatrous* countrymen; and in the battle of Cossovo† the league and independence of the Slavonian tribes was finally crushed. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend Amurath from the dagger of despair; a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and the Turkish prince was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound.

§ 12. The character of Bayazid,‡ the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname of *Yildirim*, or the lightning; and he might glory in an epithet which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. *In the fourteen years of his reign (A.D. 1389-1402) he incessantly moved at the head of his armies,* Reign of Bayazid I. (A.D. 1389–402).

* The body, however, was instituted, not by Murād I., but by Orkhan and his vezir Ala-ed-din. It was formed from amongst the families of the conquered Greeks, and recruited each year from the children of Christian captives, or (in case of an insufficiency of these) from the Christians of the conquered cities.

† A.D. 1389. The Christian allies consisted of Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Walachia, Hungary, Albania, and Poland.

‡ The name used to be written Bajazet, a false form, which arose from an ignorant transcription of the German spelling.

from Brusa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates; and, though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, the northern regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience; and after the conquest of Iconium the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bayazid less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia. Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till Bayazid stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys, to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. The three predecessors of Bayazid had been content with the title of emir;* but this humble designation was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bayazid condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes: a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion; by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title; and he turned his arms† against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismond, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the West; his cause was that of Europe and the church; and, on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross.‡ In the battle of Nicopolis Bayazid defeated a confederate army of 100,000 Christians, who had proudly boasted that if the sky should fall they could uphold it on their lances (A.D. 1396). The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and Sigismond, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned after a long circuit to his exhausted kingdom.

The emperors JOHN PALÆOLOGUS and MANUEL.

§ 13. After his enfranchisement from an oppressive guardian, John Palæologus remained thirty-six years the helpless, and, as it should seem, the careless, spectator of the public ruin (A.D.

* This is not so; both Orkhan and Murād call themselves sultan on their coins. The only difference in Bayazid's case was the sanction of the title by the caliph.

† It was Hungary that turned its arms against him.

‡ Hungary was assisted also by Bulgarians, Vlachs, etc. (Servia alone remaining loyal to the Turks). On the battle, see Vambéry, *Hungary*, p. 183 f; Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, p. 50 ff.; A. Brauner, *Die Schlacht bei Nicopolis* (1876); G. Köhler, *Die Schlachten von Nicopoli und Warna* (1882).

1355–1391). Andronicus, his eldest son, had formed at Adrianople an intimate and guilty friendship with Sauzes [Saūdji], the son of Amurath; and the two youths conspired against the authority and lives of their parents. The presence of Amurath in Europe soon discovered and dissipated their rash counsels; and, after depriving Sauzes of his sight, the Ottoman threatened his vassal with the treatment of an accomplice and an enemy unless he inflicted a similar punishment on his own son. Palæologus trembled and obeyed, and a cruel precaution involved in the same sentence the childhood and innocence of John the son of the criminal. But the cause of the blind princes was espoused by a numerous party; and a civil war distracted the remains of the Byzantine empire. The death of Palæologus left his son Manuel in sole possession of Constantinople (A.D. 1391–1425); but the capital was constantly threatened by the victorious arms of Bayazid, who asserted the claims of the blind prince to the throne of Constantinople. Manuel determined to repair to the French court to solicit in person a supply of men and money; and in order to extinguish all domestic discord, he left his blind competitor on the throne. But instead of applauding the success of his vassal, the Turkish sultan claimed the city as his own; and, on the refusal of the emperor John, Constantinople was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Against such an enemy prayers and resistance were alike unavailing; and the savage would have devoured his prey if, in the fatal moment, he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself. By the victory of TIMOUR or TAMERLANE the fall of Constantinople was delayed about fifty years; and this important though accidental service may justly introduce the life and character of the Mongol conqueror.*

Early history of TIMOUR or TAMERLANE: he ascends the throne of Tchagatai (A.D. 1369).

§ 14. Timour was of Turkish race, but he was related, at least through the females, to the family of Tchingis, and his fifth ancestor had been the vizir of Tchagatai, son of Tchingis, in his new realm of Transoxiana. He was born † forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Kash, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of 10,000 horse. His birth was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Asiatic dynasties and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Tchagatai were extinct; the emirs aspired to independence, and their domestic feuds could only be suspended

* Timūr, "Iron," is the proper name. In early life he received a wound which made him permanently lame; hence he was called Timūr-leng, *i.e.* Timūr the Lame, a name pronounced in Turkish *Temirlin*, whence the European Tamerlane or Tamberlaine (cf. Cahun, *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie*, p. 461). He composed the *commentaries* of his life and the *institutions* of his government, which are extant in Persian and have been translated into English, the former by Major C. Stewart (1830), the latter by Major W. Davy (1783).

† A.D. 1335.

by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kashgar, who, with an army of Getes [Jits] or Calmucks, invaded the Transoxian kingdom. Timour stood forth as the deliverer of his country; and after many vicissitudes of fortune, he was invested with *Imperial* command, at the age of thirty-four, in a general diet or *kuriltai* [A.D. 1369]. But he affected to revere the house of Tchingis; and while the emir Timour reigned over Tchagatai and the East, a nominal khan served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, 500 miles in length and in breadth, might have satisfied the ambition of a subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world, and before his death the crown of Tchagatai was one of the twenty-seven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns (A.D. 1370–1400), I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and III. India, and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

His conquests: I. Of Persia (A.D. 1384–1393).

§ 15. I. No sooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Tchagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Abu-said, the last of the descendants of the great Hulagu. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years, and the Mongol invader might seem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: they separately stood, and successively fell; and the whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience. In the mountains of Georgia the native Christians still braved the law and the sword of Mahomet; by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the *ghazi*, or holy war, and the prince of Tiflis became his proselyte and friend.

II. Of Turkestan (A.D. 1370–1383), Kiptchak, etc.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the invasion of Turkestan, or the Eastern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Getes: he passed the Sihun (Jaxartes), subdued the kingdom of Kashgar, and marched seven times into the heart of their country. The conquest of Kiptchak, or the western Tartary, was undertaken to chastise the ingratitude of Toctāmish, whom Timour had placed upon the throne. He twice invaded Kiptchak with such mighty powers that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing [A.D. 1391, 1395]. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia; a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; and Moscow would have fallen into the hands of the Tartar, had not ambition and prudence recalled him to the South.

III. Of Hindustan (A.D. 1398–1399).

III. The invasion of Hindustan was undertaken in A.D. 1398. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*,

or five rivers that fall into the master stream; and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The siege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the sultan Mahmud and his vizir to descend into the plain; their forces were easily routed, and Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindustan. He admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the stately mosque; but the order or licence of a general pillage and massacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who still surpass, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moslems. In this pious design he advanced 100 miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, and fought several battles by land and water. His return was along the skirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange foresight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

His war against Bayazid (A.D. 1400).

§ 16. It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of the sultan Bayazid. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by sixty-three years and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter season; but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour; and the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bayazid, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces which fermented two years before the final explosion. Yet in his first expedition Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Sivas or Sebasteia, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia (A.D. 1400). As a Musulman he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bayazid, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople; and after this salutary lesson the Mongol conqueror checked his pursuit and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt.

He invades Syria (A.D. 1400).

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria; but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians; and their favourite Barkuk, from a slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. Timour defeated the Mamalukes in Syria, took Aleppo and Damascus, which he reduced to ashes (A.D. 1401), but was compelled by the losses and fatigues of the campaign to renounce the conquest

of Palestine and Egypt.* On his return to the Euphrates he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of 90,000 heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of the Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province, and 800,000† men were enrolled on his military list.

Battle of Angora: defeat and captivity of Bayazid (A.D. 1402).

§ 17. Bayazid had assembled an army of 400,000† men; his fearless confidence urged him to meet his antagonist; and, as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Sivas. In the meanwhile Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp, occupied Cæsarea, and traversed the salt desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora; while the sultan, immoveable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a snail. He returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalized the glory of Timour and the shame of Bayazid (July 20, A.D. 1402). Bayazid displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief;‡ but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant; and after the defeat of his troops, he was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was pursued and taken by the titular khan of Tchagatai; the kingdom of Anatolia submitted to the conqueror, who dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction; and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deserved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence the place was taken by storm; all that breathed was put to the sword, and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks or great ships of Europe that rode at anchor in the harbour.§

Term of the conquests of Timour: his death on the road to China (A.D. 1405).

§ 18. From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour; his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert

* He, however, received the homage of the Mamluk sultans.

† These numbers are wild exaggerations: probably one-third (or less) of each would be nearer the truth. Phrantzes (p. 84, ed. Bonn) estimates the Ottoman army at 150,000.

‡ On the contrary, he behaved like a madman. After fixing his camp to the north of Timur's position in the plain above Angora (now called Tchibuk Ova), he led off his army to a grand hunt, by way of expressing his scorn, and returned to find his camp in possession of the Tartar and no water to refresh his thirsty and exhausted soldiers.

§ The story of the *iron cage* in which Bayazid was imprisoned by Timur, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, arose from the fact that he was carried in a litter, with lattice-work of iron (Von Hammer, vol. i. p. 320).

the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land, but an insuperable though narrow sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia, and the lord of so many myriads of horse was not master of a single galley.* The two passages of the Bosporus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double straits were guarded with ships and fortifications, and they separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. Meanwhile Timour, in his camp before Smyrna, formed the resolution of invading the Chinese empire. He achieved the final conquest of Georgia, passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes, and slowly returned to his capital after a campaign of four years and nine months (A.D. 1404). After displaying for a short time his magnificence and power on the throne of Samarcand, he unfurled his standard for the invasion of China. Neither age nor the severity of the winter could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihun on the ice, marched 300 miles from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue and the indiscreet use of iced water accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Asia expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Tchagatai (A.D. 1405). His designs were lost; his armies were disbanded; China was saved; and, fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Pekin.

His character and merits.

§ 19. The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West; and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies. Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to himself and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exercise. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements. He might boast that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous

* Before the battle of Angora he had ordered John Palæologus (who governed Constantinople during the absence of Manuel II., § 13 above) to get ready a fleet of twenty galleys, and the same order was sent to the emperor of Trebizond, who had acknowledged himself a tributary. That he did not make use of them was due to the fact that Ottoman resistance had been crushed at Angora, while he did not consider it worth his while to attack the feeble remnant of the Greek empire (see Finlay, vol. iv. p. 389 ff.).

monarchy a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories and a title to universal dominion. But the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease; and whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns or pyramids of human heads. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren, the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Shah-Rukh, his youngest son; but after *his* decease the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindustan. His successors (the "Great Moguls") extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe [Aurangzīb, A.D. 1659–1707] their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants of a remote island in the Northern Ocean.

Reigns of Mahomet [Mohammed] I. and Amurath [Murad] II.

§ 20. Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massy trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour had evacuated Anatolia, a civil war broke out between the five sons of Bayazid. After a long protracted struggle (A.D. 1403–1413), Mahomet I. was universally acknowledged sultan; the eight years of his sole and peaceful reign (A.D. 1413–1421) were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy; and he bequeathed an undisputed succession to his son Amurath II.*

Siege of Constantinople by Amurath II. (A.D. 1422): JOHN PALÆOLOGUS II.

§ 21. The deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence of Timour's victory over Bayazid. Upon receiving intelligence of the retreat and captivity of the Ottoman, Manuel returned to Constantinople, and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lemnos. But instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, Manuel was tempted to assist the most formidable of the sons of Bayazid. The gratitude of Mahomet prevented him from disturbing the repose of the Greek empire; but Amurath in the second year of his reign resumed the ambitious schemes of his predecessors, and laid siege to Constantinople (A.D. 1422). But the strength of the walls resisted an army of 200,000† Turks: their assaults were

* See ch. xxxviii.

† Probably not more than 50,000.

TURKISH EXPANSION UP TO A.D. 1451

Ottoman territory at death of Orkhan, A.D. 1360.

Net addition at accession of Mohammed I. (after losses caused by Mongol irruption and consequent resuscitation of the Seljuk Emirs)

Accessions under Mohammed I. & Murad II (A.D. 1413–1451), those in dots being reconquests

Constantinople & parts under Greek sway

repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; and after a siege of two months Amurath was recalled to Brusa by a domestic revolt, which had been kindled by Greek treachery and was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless brother. While he led his Janizaries to new conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of thirty years. Manuel sank into the grave; and John Palæologus II. (A.D. 1425–1448) was permitted to reign for an annual tribute of 300,000 aspers and the dereliction of almost all that he held beyond the suburbs of Constantinople.*

[For the Mongols, Sir H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols* (1876 ff.); L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols des origines à* 1405 (1896), and his sketch in Lavisse-Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, vol. ii. c. xvi., and vol. iii. c. xix. For the Mongol invasion of Europe, see, besides Cahun, Strakosch Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa* (1893). For the Turks the standard work is that of Von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. des Osmanischen Reiches* (1834-1836), of which there is a French translation by Hellert; Sir E. S. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks, chiefly founded on Von Hammer* (1854); Vte. de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* in Duruy's *Histoire Universelle* (1881); S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey* (1888). For both, Lane-Poole's *The Mohammadan Dynasties.*]

* About £14,250. These conditions were subscribed to by Manuel as the price of peace. The empire was now reduced to Constantinople, Thessalonica, and a few cities in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, with a part of the Peloponnese.

The Emperor Manuel and his wife Irene, or Helena, with their three sons, John (the Emperor John Palæologus II.), Theodorus, and Andronicus. From a MS. of Dionysius Areopagita, brought to France by Manuel Chrysoloras, the ambassador of the Emperor Manuel, A.D. 1408 (Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 243).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

REUNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES. REVIVAL OF GREEK LITERATURE IN ITALY.

§ 1. Negotiations of the emperors of Constantinople with the Roman pontiffs (A.D. 1339–1355). § 2. Visit of John Palæologus I. to Urban V. at Rome (A.D. 1369). § 3. Visit of the emperor Manuel to the courts of France and England (A.D. 1400, June and Dec.). § 4. John

Palæologus II. comes to Italy at the invitation of the pope (A.D. 1437). § 5. Council of the Greeks and Latins at Ferrara and Florence (A.D. 1438–1439): reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. § 6. Revival of the Greek learning in Italy (in the fourteenth century). § 7. Greek studies of Petrarch and Boccaccio: Pilatus first Greek professor in Florence and in the West (A.D. 1360). § 8. Foundation of the Greek language in Italy by Manuel Chrysoloras (A.D. 1390–1415). § 9. The Greeks in Italy in the fifteenth century. § 10. Emulation and progress of the Latins: Nicholas V., Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis (A.D. 1428–1492).

Negotiations of the emperors of Constantinople with the Roman pontiffs (A.D. 1339–1355).

§ 1. IN the four last centuries of the Greek emperors their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of their prosperity or distress—as the scale of the rise and fall of the barbarian dynasties. After the recovery of Constantinople the throne of the first Palæologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies: as long as the sword of Charles of Anjou, king of the Sicilies, was suspended over his head he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff, and sacrificed to the present danger his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. The conquest of Bithynia by the Turks admonished the younger Andronicus to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the Western princes; and both this emperor and his successor John Cantacuzene opened negotiations with the Roman pontiffs Benedict XII. and Clement VI. But these negotiations led to no result; and it was not till the deposition of John Cantacuzene that the union of the Greek and Latin churches was seriously entertained. Of all the Byzantine princes, John Palæologus I. was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church; by her advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, Palæologus abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery, subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the *golden* bull, was privately entrusted to an Italian agent. For these condescensions he requires a prompt succour of fifteen galleys, with 500 men-at-arms and 1000 archers, to serve against his Christian and Musulman enemies. But this treaty was neither executed nor published; and it was only by the secrecy, that their sovereign escaped the dishonour, of this fruitless humiliation.

Visit of John Palæologus I. to Urban V. at Rome (A.D. 1369).

§ 2. The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and after the loss of Adrianople and Romania he was enclosed in his capital, the vassal of the haughty Amurath I., with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice and casting himself at the feet of the pope; he was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could seek consolation or relief; and with less violation of his dignity he might appear in the sacred college than at the

Ottoman *Porte*. He was graciously received by Urban V., who strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king and the other powers of the West in favour of his proselyte (A.D. 1369); but he found them cold in the general cause and active only in their domestic quarrels. Palæologus returned to Constantinople without obtaining any assistance from the Western powers; and his apostacy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.

Visit of the emperor Manuel to the Courts of France and England (A.D. 1400, June and Dec.).

§ 3. Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his son and successor Manuel, from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the West (A.D. 1400). He landed at Venice, passed the Alps, and was received at Paris by Charles VI. with the honours due to his rank. From France he crossed over to the adjacent island and was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the East. But neither the king of France, nor our king Henry IV. was in a condition to afford any succour to the royal suppliant; and Manuel, after a residence of two years in the West, embarked at Venice and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance (A.D. 1402).

John Palæologus II. comes to Italy at the invitation of the Pope (A.D. 1437).

§ 4. After the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. His son and successor, John Palæologus II., resumed the design of uniting the East and West; and this emperor received at the same time an invitation from the council of Basel and from the pope Eugenius IV. The fathers of Basel aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which possessed the confidence of the Western nations. At the same time Eugenius used every effort to secure the friendship of Palæologus. The decrees of the council of Basel continually tended to circumscribe the despotism of the pope and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious synod from the Rhine to the Po. The emperor finally accepted the invitation of the pope and, accompanied by the patriarch Joseph and the most respectable persons of the church and state, sailed to Venice, and from thence proceeded to Ferrara (A.D. 1438).

Council of the Greeks and Latins at Ferrara and Florence (A.D. 1438–1439). Reunion of the Greek and Latin churches.

§ 5. The Greeks were soon dissatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emissaries had painted him in a prosperous state at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient at his voice to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal synod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basel against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the

consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned about six months. But all obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basel rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius; the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix V.; the council, which the pope summoned to meet at Florence, gradually rose in numbers and influence; and at length after the labour of nine months and the debates of twenty-five sessions, the Latins of Florence attained the advantage and glory of the reunion of the Greeks. The pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by

Bronze medal of John Palæologus II., by Vittore Pisano (from the British Museum). Obverse: + IωANNHC . BACIΛEVS . KAI . AVTOKPATωP . PωMAIωN . O . ΠAΛAIOΛOΓOC (Ἰωάννης βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος); bust of emperor. Reverse: emperor on horseback in a mountainous country before a wayside cross: behind him a mounted attendant. Above, OPVS . PISANI . PICTORIS. Below, ЄPГON . TOV . ΠICANOV . ZωГPAΦOV (ἔργον τοῦ Πισάνου ζωγράφου).

their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals; and the will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity. In the treaty between the two nations several forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins without dishonouring the Greeks; and it was finally agreed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the same nature and substance; and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *spiration* and production. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; and on a memorable

day, the 6th of July (A.D. 1439), the successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones; the two nations assembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, Cardinal Julian and Bessarion archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. In the distribution of public and private rewards the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promises; the Greeks returned by the same road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Constantinople was such as will be described in the following chapter. The fame of Eugenius was diffused over the West; the council of Basel was silently dissolved; Felix renounced the tiara; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.

Revival of the Greek learning in Italy (in the fourteenth century).

§ 6. The journeys of three emperors were unavailing for the deliverance of Constantinople; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence, the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity, of a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; but a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West. But the Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. In Europe the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preserved by the church; the universities, from Bologna to Oxford, were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters.

§ 7. The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years. Yet in that

country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted; some profound scholars who, in the darker ages, were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; but the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner of Italy it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect. The Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in Mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who was sent by the younger Andronicus as an ambassador to pope Benedict XII.; and Barlaam was the first who revived beyond the Alps the memory, or at least the writings, of Homer (A.D. 1339). In the court of Avignon he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch, the first of the Latin scholars, who applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language. But he was soon deprived of the society and lessons of this useful assistant; Barlaam relinquished his fruitless embassy and returned to Greece; and as Petrarch advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. The prize which eluded his efforts was obtained by the fortune and industry of his friend Boccaccio, the father of the Tuscan prose. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, an hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year 1360 a disciple of Barlaam, whose name was Leo or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccaccio, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe (A.D. 1360–1363). It was from his explanation that Boccaccio composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which perhaps, in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. The first steps of learning are slow and laborious; no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy, and neither Rome nor Venice nor Naples could add a single name to this studious catalogue.

Greek studies of Petrarch and Boccaccio: Pilatus first Greek professor in Florence and in the West (A.D. 1360).

§ 8. *But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccaccio had planted, soon withered and expired.* The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy. Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel despatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chrysoloras, who,

Foundation of the Greek language in Italy by Manuel Chrysoloras (A.D. 1390–1415).

after visiting the courts of France and England, was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek but of the Latin tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend and surpassed the expectation of the republic (A.D. 1390–1415). At the same time and place the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrarch; the Italians, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school; and Florence became the fruitful seminary of Greek and Roman erudition.

The Greeks in Italy in the fifteenth century.

§ 9. After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who were destitute of fortune and endowed with learning, or at least with language (A.D. 1400–1500). From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century; and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome.

Emulation and progress of the Latins: Nicholas V., Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis (A.D. 1428–1492).

§ 10. Italy was divided into many independent states; and at that time it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas V. has not been adequate to his merits (A.D. 1447–1455). The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. Such was the industry of Nicholas that in a reign of eight years he formed a library of 5000 volumes. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medicis was the father of a line of princes whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning; his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron but a judge and candidate in the literary race. In his palace, distress was

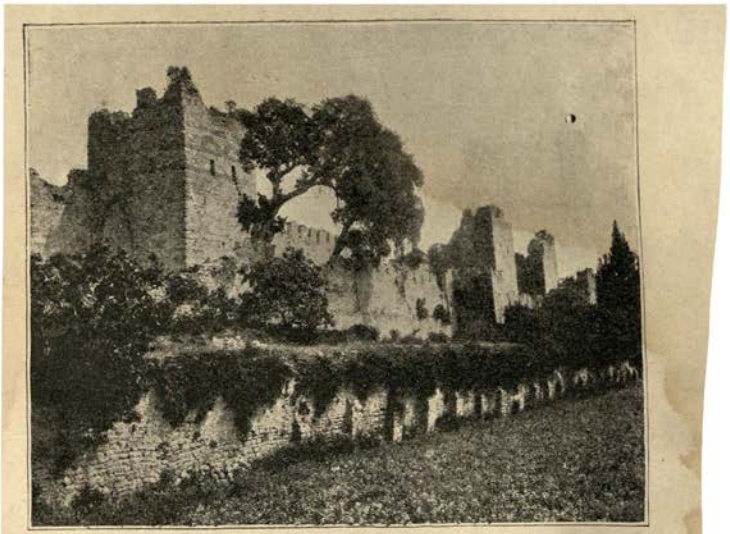
entitled to relief and merit to reward; his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy, which assembled in the gardens of his palace; he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe. The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation

Medal of Cosimo de' Medici, from the British Museum. Obverse: COSMVS MEDICES DECRETO PVBLICO PP (*pater patriæ*). Reverse: PAX LIBERTASQVE PVBLICA: in exergue, FLORENTIA. Florence seated, holding globe and olive-branch.

repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature; and these disciples of Greece were soon capable of transmitting and improving the lessons which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps, and the natives of France, Germany, and England imparted to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome.

[Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. bk. iv. c. ii. §§ 4-6; Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, English trans., vol. vi. pt. ii., especially c. vii. (Culture in Fourteenth Century) and vol. vii.; J. A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*, vol. ii. On the Medicis there is an enormous literature; a few recent books may be mentioned: E. Heyck, *Die Mediceer* (1897); E. Armstrong, *Lorenzo de' Medici* ("Heroes of the Nations"), 1896; D. K. Ewart, *Cosimo de' Medici* (1896).]

Medal of Lorenzo de' Medici (from the British Museum). MAGNVS LAVRENTIVS MEDICES.



The Triple Wall of Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

§ 1. The Greek schism after the council of Florence (A.D. 1440–1448). § 2. Reign and character of Amurath [Murād] II. § 3. Eugenius forms a league against the Turks (A.D. 1443). § 4. Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, marches against them: his victories and subsequent defeat and death at Varna (A.D. 1444). § 5. Accession of CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS, the last of the Roman or Greek emperors, and of Mahomet [Mohammed] II.: character of Mahomet. § 6. Preparations for the siege of Constantinople (A.D. 1452). § 7. Mahomet II. forms the siege: forces of the Turks and Greeks. § 8. False union of the Greek and Latin churches: obstinacy of the Greeks. § 9. Siege of Constantinople (A.D. 1453): attack and defence: succour of four ships. § 10. Mahomet transports his navy overland: distress of the city: last farewell of the emperor and the Greeks. § 11. The general assault: capture of the city: the pillage. § 12. Mahomet visits the city, St. Sophia, and the palace. § 13. He repeoples and adorns Constantinople. § 14. Extinction of the Imperial families of Comnenus and Palæologus: loss of Morea and of Trebizond. § 15. Grief and terror of Europe: death of Mahomet II. (A.D. 1481).

The Greek schism after the council of Florence (A.D. 1440–1448).

§ 1. THE last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the

synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were perfidious or fruitless; and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream. The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian galleys; but no sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore than they were saluted, or rather assailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest; it was soon cooled by opposition: an attempt to violate the national belief* might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be destitute of foreign and domestic aid. The sword of his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion;† and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

Reign and character of Amurath: [Murād] II.

§ 2. The justice and moderation of Amurath II. (A.D. 1421–1451) are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves. But the most striking feature in his life and character is the double abdication of the Turkish throne. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia; but he was soon called from his retreat by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but after the victory of Varna he again resigned the crown. His repose was again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler; and the unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

Eugenius forms a league against the Turks (A.D. 1443).

§ 3. *After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; but the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion.* In the eleventh century a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre; but in the fifteenth,

* Eugenius required also the recognition by the Greeks of the pope's supremacy.

† He made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the crown with the aid of Turkish mercenaries.

the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. The French, English, and Germans remained inactive; but the Hungarians and Poles responded to the call of the pontiff and the eloquence of his legate, Cardinal Julian. The designs of Eugenius were promoted by the circumstances of the times; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus, a young and ambitious soldier; by the valour of an hero, whose name, the name of John Huniades [Hunyady], was already popular among the Christians and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosporus and to sally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania announced the retreat of Amurath and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dissevered and destroyed. The subjects of Philip of Burgundy sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont; and the hostile fleets of Venice and Genoa were associated under the standard of St. Peter.

Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, marches against them: his victories and subsequent defeat and death at Varna (A.D. 1444).

§ 4. Of the Polish and Hungarian diets a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. The approach of winter and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus arrested the progress of the hero; but the retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph.* The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty the rational objects of the war were obtained; the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Szegedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded, and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran,

* This is not quite accurate. Hunyady really performed the brilliant feat of crossing the Balkan in face of the determined opposition of the Turks, who barricaded the defiles and poured down water, which froze and formed a wall of ice. After again defeating the Turks on the plain below, he actually went back to Buda to display his trophies, instead of marching on Adrianople.

attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. During the whole transaction the cardinal legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. The legate absolved the king of Hungary from his oath; and war was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn. But the same treaty which should have bound the conscience of Ladislaus had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs; the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition were reduced to an inadequate force of 20,000 men. After the passage of the Danube they marched through the plains of Bulgaria; and their last station was at Varna, near the sea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Varna; the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory (A.D. 1444).

Accession of CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS, the last of the Roman or Greek emperors, and of Mahomet [Mohammed] II.: character of Mahomet.

§ 5. In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. John Palæologus was succeeded by his eldest brother Constantine, about four years after the Hungarian crusade (A.D. 1448); and three years after the accession of the Greek emperor, Mahomet II. ascended the Ottoman throne, at the age of twenty-one, upon the decease of his father Amurath II. (A.D. 1451). Mahomet had been educated with the utmost care. *Under the tuition of the most skilful masters he advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages, the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldæan or* Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek.* But the influence of religion and learning was employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. Without believing all the stories related of his cruelty, it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field,

* He knew only Arabic and Persian.

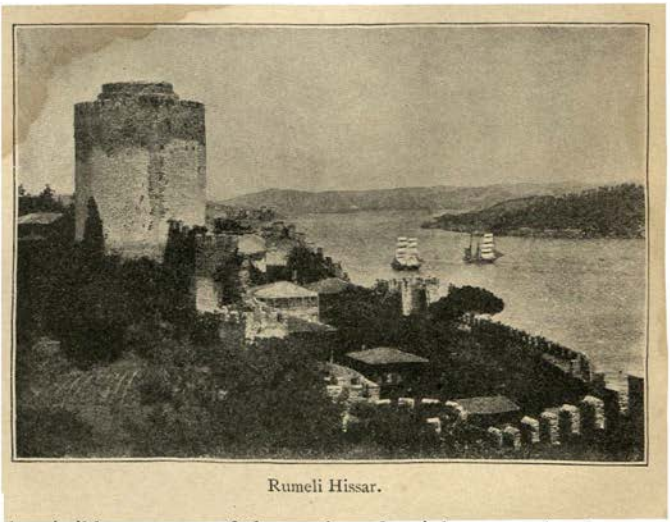
a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements, Mahomet II. must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour.

Medal of Mohammed II., by G. Bellini (in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris).

§ 6. Soon after the accession of Mahomet the ambassadors of Europe and Asia appeared to solicit his friendship, and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty; but while peace was on his lips, war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks by their own indiscretion afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture. Their ambassadors demanded the increase of the annual stipend paid for the maintenance of Orchan, a grandson of Soliman, one of the sons of Bayazid, who had reigned for a while at Adrianople after his father's defeat.

Preparations for the siege of Constantinople (A.D. 1452).

After dismissing them with fair words, Mahomet issued an order which in some degree commenced the siege of the city. In the narrow pass of the Bosporus an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather; in the opposite situation, on the European side, he erected a more formidable castle, on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis (A.D. 1452).* The Greek emperor beheld with terror the



Rumeli Hissar.

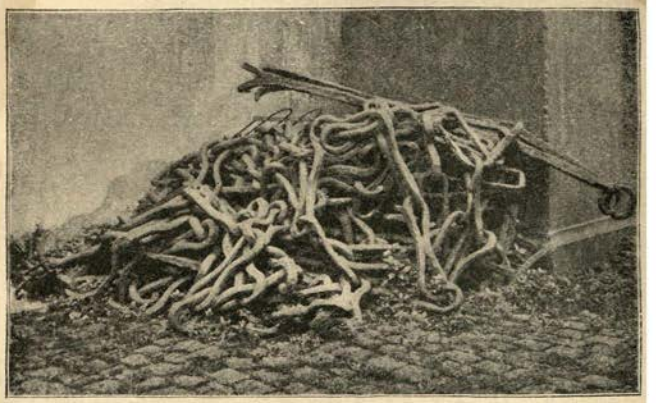
irresistible progress of the work and vainly strove by flattery and gifts to assuage an implacable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. After mutual recriminations war was openly declared; but the siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring. Meantime the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of the Western powers. But Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of the Byzantine empire: some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable; the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks.

Mahomet II. forms the siege: forces of the Turks and Greeks.

§ 7. In the beginning of the spring (A.D. 1453) the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of the capital, and on the sixth day of April Mahomet planted before

* This castle, now called Rumeli Hissar, "Castle of Rumelia," still stands facing Mohammed I.'s fortress Anadoli Hissar, "Castle of Anatolia."

the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard, and formed the memorable siege of Constantinople. The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour; the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The whole mass of the Turkish powers amounted to 258,000 men.* In her last decay Constantinople was still peopled with more than 100,000 inhabitants; but they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a



Part of the chain drawn across the Golden Horn in A.D. 1453.

distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were entrusted to Phranzes; and after a diligent addition he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to 4973 *Romans*. They derived some accession from a body of 2000 strangers, under the command of John Justiniani [Giustiniani], a noble Genoese; a strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the

* This is the number given by the historian Phrantzes, but Italian witnesses estimate the Turkish army at 160,000.

harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

False union of the Greek and Latin churches: obstinacy of the Greeks.

§ 8. Meanwhile the Greeks were distracted by the spirit of religious discord. Before his death the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation. With the demand of temporal aid his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the 12th of December (A.D. 1452) the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; but the greatest part of the clergy and people rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins.*

Siege of Constantinople (A.D. 1453, April 6–May 29).

§ 9. Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of 100 feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranzes, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base;

* "Better the sultan's turban in Constantinople," said the Grand-Duke Notaras, "than the tiara of the pope" (Ducas, p. 264).

but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero; his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five or even ten balls of lead, of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breastplates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful either in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion. The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems, by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet, an important and visible object in the history of the times, was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude; the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places.

Attack and defence.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian * that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angle of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterranean passages with gunpowder and blowing whole towers and cities into the air. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed

* An envoy of Hunyady (see p. 306). He was amused at the incompetence of the Turkish engineers.

against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. By these arts of attack the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani; and at the dawn of day the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that the ditch was cleared and restored, and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

Succour of four ships.

During the height of the siege * the spirits of the Greeks were raised by the daring and successful enterprise of four vessels, one bearing the imperial flag, and the other three belonging to the Genoese, laden with provisions and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a desperate fight, these ships forced their way through the Turkish fleet, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name and maintained a fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople. The more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan.†

Mahomet transports his navy overland.

§ 10. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land; but the harbour was inaccessible; an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosporus into the higher part of

* April 20.

† He had really come to announce that Hunyady, having ceased to be Regent, and desiring to restore full liberty of action to the young king Ladislaus, sent him to return the deed of armistice signed by the Sultan in 1451 and to ask back the document signed by himself. This was a diplomatic move designed to intimidate Mohammed.

the harbour. The distance is about six miles; a level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars were disembarked on the Bosporus shore, arranged successively on rollers, and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. In the course of a single night* this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length: it was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. After a siege of forty days the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack; the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened, and near the gate of St. Romanus four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength; the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the great duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

Distress of the city.

Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the 29th of May as the fortunate and fatal hour.† Meanwhile the Christians, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. They accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks and the bravest of the allies were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the 28th, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman Empire: he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. The

Last farewell of the emperor and the Greeks.

* April 22.

† On the 23rd Mohammed demanded the capitulation of the city; Constantine was willing to accept peace and pay tribute, but refused to surrender the capital.

pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranzes, who was himself present at the mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor and some faithful companions entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque, and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

The general assault: capture of the city.

§ 11. In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. Under their respective pashas and sanjaks,* the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge; their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour; he was surrounded by 10,000 of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed

* *Read* "sanjak-beys": *sanjak* is an administrative district (lit. "flag").

to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood and the exquisite pain appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. He withdrew from his station, and hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall.* His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The walls and towers were covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage-ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple; amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet II. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.

The wealth of Constantinople was granted by the sultan to his victorious troops, who exercised their work of rapine in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations, of the capital; nor could any place, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above 60,000 of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalized their valour in the siege: they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd; but the means of transportation were scanty; the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects. *The pillage.

§ 12. From the first hour of the memorable 29th of May,

* Not in flight, but to have his wound dressed: it proved mortal.

Mahomet visits the city, St. Sophia, and the palace.

disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople till the eighth hour of the same day, when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under jaw of one of these monsters, which in the eyes of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia he alighted from his horse and entered the dome; by his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosque; the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed* and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezzin*, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *azan*, or public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet II. performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of an hundred successors of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: "The spider has wove his web† in the Imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab." Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine,—whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death; the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral.‡ On the 18th of June the victorious sultan returned to Adrianople, and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

* White-washed.

† "Has drawn his curtain." As Finlay explains, "In the East the entrance into the apartments of the great is closed by a carpet that hangs before the door, and the owl's long cry is common even in well-peopled cities. It is ringing in my ear as I write this note" (p. 521).

‡ A lamp is kept constantly burning over the spot where he was buried, not far from the Suleimanieh (Mordtmann, *Belagerung u. Eroberung Cp.*, p. 100).

He repeoples and adorns Constantinople.

§ 13. Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Brusa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet II. established his own residence and that of his successors on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the *Grand Signor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on the shores of the Bosporus may not always be secure from the insults of a hostile navy. In the new character of a mosque, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters. The population was speedily renewed, and before the end of September 5000 families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects; but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks, and they returned in crowds as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions; their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition.

Extinction of the Imperial families of Comnenus and Palæologus: loss of Morea and of Trebizond.

§ 14. The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties which have reigned in Constantinople should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas, the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were indulged in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. Neither the ties of blood, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend the quarrels of the two brothers. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord. Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force (A.D.

1460). When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province. I will take your daughter to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed and obeyed; followed to Adrianople his sovereign and son; and received, for his own maintenance and that of his followers, a city in Thrace and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea.* In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself Emperor of Trebizond; the feeble Comnenus surrendered the city (A.D. 1461), and was transported with his family to a castle in Romania; but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation; his followers were transplanted to Constantinople, and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of 50,000 aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus from an earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas, be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea the despot escaped to Italy; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of 6000 ducats from the pope and cardinals. His eldest son, Andrew, successively sold his inheritance to the kings of France and Arragon; his younger son, Manuel, was tempted to revisit his native country, where he resided till his death.

Grief and terror of Europe: death of Mahomet II. (A.D. 1481).

§ 15. The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss; the siege and sack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation; and Pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet II. in the fifty-first year of his age (A.D. 1481). His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy; he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the NEW and the ANCIENT ROME.

[Besides the works cited at end of c. xxxvi., A. D. Mordtmann, *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels durch die Türken* (1858), and Voigt's review in *Histor. Zeitschrift* (1860), p. 16 ff.; Finlay, *Hist.*, bk. iv. c. ii., § 7; H. Vast, *Le siège et la prise de Cple. par les Turcs* in *Revue Historique*, May, 1880, pp. 1-40; E. A. Vlasto, *Les derniers jours de Cple.* (1883); Ch. Mijatovitch, *Constantine, the last Emperor of the Greeks* (1892). See also A. Van Millingen's important work *Byzantine Constantinople: the Walls of the City and adjoining Historical Sites* (1899).]

* Above, p. 254.

St. Sophia, at Constantinople, at the present day. *To face p.* 312.

Bronze medal of Martin V. (from the British Museum). Obverse: MARTINVS . V . COLVMNA . PONT . MAX. Reverse: OPTIMO PONTIFICI . ROMA; Rome seated, holding scales and cornucopiæ.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

STATE OF ROME FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. State and revolutions of Rome (A.D. 1100–1500). § 2. Political heresy of Arnold of Brescia (A.D. 1140). § 3. Revolution of the twelfth century: the Capitol, the coin, the præfect of the city, the senate. § 4. The office of senator: Brancaleone (A.D. 1252–1258). § 5. The senators Charles of Anjou, Pope Martin IV., the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. § 6. The election of the popes. § 7. Translation of the Holy See to Avignon (A.D. 1309). § 8. Institution of the Jubilee, or Holy Year (A.D. 1300). § 9. The barons or nobles of Rome: the COLONNA and URSINI. § 10. Petrarch: his poetic coronation at Rome (A.D. 1341). § 11. Birth, character, and patriotic designs of RIENZI. § 12. He assumes the government of Rome with the title and office of tribune (A.D. 1347). § 13. Vices and folly of Rienzi: his fall and flight (A.D. 1347). § 14. Revolutions of Rome (A.D. 1347–1354). § 15. Adventures of Rienzi. § 16. Rienzi, senator of Rome: his death (A.D. 1354). § 17. Return of the popes to Rome (A.D. 1377): great schism of the West. § 18. End of the schism (A.D. 1418). § 19. The popes acquire absolute dominion in Rome.

State and revolutions of Rome (A.D. 1100–1500).

§ 1. THE ROMAN CITY acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms. The rise and progress of the temporal power of the pontiffs, their contests with the German emperors, and the disorders and revolutions of the city down to Gregory VII., have been described in a previous chapter of this work.* The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke and insulted the impotence of their bishop; nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the

* See ch. xxvi. §§ 1–14.

frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. The long hostility of the mitre and the crown increased the numbers and inflamed the passions of his enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties, and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory VII. was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his successors, till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans; their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder.

Political heresy of Arnold of Brescia (A.D. 1140).

§ 2. The trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia, whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as a uniform of obedience. In his theological studies he had been the disciple of Abelard; from his master he probably imbibed some theological notions repugnant to the taste of the times; but a *political* heresy was the source of his fame and misfortunes. He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained that the sword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magistrate; and that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself, must renounce either their state or their salvation.* During a short time the preacher was revered as a patriot; but after his heresy had been condemned by Innocent II. in the general council of the Lateran, Arnold escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zürich. He afterwards returned to Rome; he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of the Gospel and of classic enthusiasm, he exhorted the Romans to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the *name* of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock. Arnold of Brescia ruled Rome about ten years (A.D. 1144–1154), while two popes, Innocent II. and Anastasius IV., either trembled in the Vatican or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were

* The revolution, however, was not due primarily to Arnold's preaching, but to impatience of ecclesiastical authority and of the rule of a territorial aristocracy, against which the poor burgher class could not make itself felt. The utter corruption of the church was a fact recognized by enlightened opinion; the novelty lay in the drastic nature of the remedy proposed by Arnold and the open preaching of his doctrine in the streets.

succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Hadrian IV., the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. This pontiff procured the assistance of Frederic Barbarossa: the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master (A.D. 1155).

Revolution of the twelfth century: the Capitol, the coin, the præfect of the city, the senate.

§ 3. In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and æra to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences, is about 400 yards in length, and 200 in breadth, and had from the earliest ages been used as a temple in peace and a fortress in war. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength of the Capitol; to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Cæsars had been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver; to the senate they abandoned the baser metal of copper.* The successors of Diocletian had assumed the sole direction of the mint; and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of 800 years the Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege; and some of

Gold sequin of the Roman senate (from the British Museum). Obverse: S. PETRVS SENATOR VRBIS; St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator. Reverse: ROMA CAPVT MV(N)DI, S.P.Q.R.; the Saviour in aureola, holding a book.

these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shown in the cabinets of the curious.† III. With the

* This is true from B.C. 15 onwards; cf. G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (1899), pp. 50, 134.

† Papal coins practically cease after A.D. 984 (about the time of Crescentius, c. xxvi. § 14), and do not begin again till A.D. 1303. Their place is taken by senatorial coins, the oldest having on one side an image of St. Peter, with the legend, ROMAN· PRICIPE, "Prince of the Romans;" and on the other SENAT· POPUL· Q·R· round a portrait of St. Paul. Later types are figured in the text.

empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword, which he received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome; the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the præfect in the conflict of adverse duties. A servant, in whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans; in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and after the first fervour of rebellion they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. IV. The senate was revived by Arnold in 1144, and was invested with the legislative and executive power; but the views of the senators seldom reached beyond the present day. In its utmost plenitude the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six members, the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors.* The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion the restoration of their government.†

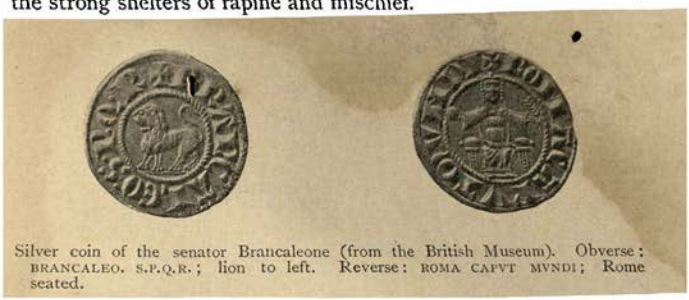
The office of senator: Brancaleone (A.D. 1252–1258).

§ 4. The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans sought abroad those blessings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure which, however strange it may seem, was adapted to their situation, and productive of the most salutary effects. They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of peace and war. In the other Italian republics he usually bore the title of podestà, but in Rome he was designated by the name of senator. It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the senator Brancaleone (A.D. 1252–1258). By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence two nobles of the Annibaldi

* *Consiliatores*, the senate itself forming the *Consistorium*.

† Along with the revival of republican institutions went the absurd notion that Rome could again be the "capital of the world." The republican revival itself was doomed to failure, because, unlike the cities of Lombardy (where free communes had been developed, ch. xxvi. § 15), Rome had no industry or commerce, and consequently no stable middle class between the fierce noble families (who spent their time fighting with each other) and the poverty-stricken populace—a mere rabble largely subsisting on ecclesiastical charities.

family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief.



Silver coin of the senator Brancaleone (from the British Museum). Obverse: BRANCALEO. S.P.Q.R.; lion to left. Reverse: ROMA CAPVT MVNDI; Rome seated.

The senators Charles of Anjou, pope Martin IV., the emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

§ 5. The Romans subsequently elected for their senator a prince of independent power. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope and the office of senator from the Roman people (A.D. 1265–1278). The enmity of Nicholas III. obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the pontiff establishes the annual election of the senator, and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank. This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin IV., who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans (A.D. 1281). About fifty years afterwards the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria (A.D. 1328); and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

The election of the popes.

§ 6. Under the first Christian princes the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election: the sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms.* A peaceful and perpetual succession was ascertained by Alexander III. (A.D. 1179), who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the sole college of cardinals.† The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons were assimilated to each other by this important privilege; the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy: they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they

* See p. 90 f.

† But see p. 91, *note*.

claimed a proud equality with kings, and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo X., seldom exceeded twenty or twenty-five persons. By this wise regulation all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed that in a period of 600 years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college.

Translation of the Holy See to Avignon (A.D. 1309).

§ 7. Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tiber to the Rhone. Clement V., who owed his election to the dexterity of the French faction, took up his residence at Avignon (A.D. 1309), which flourished above seventy years the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers; but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless; after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals, who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt and perpetuated a series of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

Institution of the Jubilee, or Holy Year (A.D. 1300).

§ 8. The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics; but the position of Rome was less favourable; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride;* and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR, was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Boniface VIII. had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. In the year 1300 he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service.† The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished

* Cf. note † on p. 316. On the internal condition of Rome, see Gregorovius, vol. iv. pt. ii. c. iv.

† The Crusades had ended in A.D. 1272.

with less than 200,000 strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure, and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul. From a city without trade or industry all casual riches will speedily evaporate; but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement VI. to anticipate the distant period of the century (A.D. 1350). The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee. His summons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition have much diminished the value of the Jubilee; yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people.

The barons or nobles of Rome: the COLONNA and URSINI.

§ 9. In the beginning of the eleventh century Italy was exposed to the feudal tyranny, alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who soon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. But the feeble and disorderly government of Rome was unequal to the task of curbing her rebellious sons, who scorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the state: the barons asserted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. The most powerful of the Roman families were the rival houses of COLONNA and URSINI, whose hereditary feud distracted above 250 years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Ursini espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten.* After the retreat of the

* Cf. p. 316, *note*, and p. 94, *note*. In any other city one of these numerous factions would have gained the mastery and established a "tyranny;" but in Rome this result was prevented by the presence of the Papacy, which had no armed force to keep order itself, and jealously excluded any authority that might have proved effective. Moreover, the pope was "very often a member of one of the great families, and, as such, no better

popes to Avignon, they disputed in arms the vacant republic; and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators.

Petrarch: his poetic coronation at Rome (A.D. 1341).

§ 10. In the apprehension of modern times Petrarch is the Italian songster of Laura and love. But in the eyes of Petrarch and those of his graver contemporaries his love was a sin and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy; his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and our gratitude must applaud the man who, by precept and example, revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry; and the title of poet-laureate, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court, was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity a prize was bestowed on the victor; the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard; * and the laurel was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. In the thirty-sixth year of his age he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes; and on the same day, in the solitude of Vaucluse, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. He preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world; and the ceremony of his coronation was performed in the Capitol by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, he knelt before the throne and received from the senator, Ursus of Anguillara, a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter (A.D. 1341). In the act or diploma which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet-laureate are revived in the Capitol after the lapse of 1300 years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the

than a faction leader at home, while venerated by the rest of Europe as the universal priest" (Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 271).

* "The Capitoline games were instituted [revived] by Domitian (Suet., c. iv.). If the crown were given to superior merit, the exclusion of Statius (*Silv.*, iii. 31) may do honour to the games of the Capitol" (Gibbon's *note*).

recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world; the pope and the emperor, her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhone and the Danube; but if she could resume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence, Petrarch, Italy, and Europe were astonished by a revolution which realised for a moment his most splendid visions.

Petrarch.
(Frontispiece of a MS. of the *De Viris Illustribus* in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. After P. de Nolhac's *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, Paris, 1892.)

§ 11. In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washer-woman produced the future deliverer of Rome. From such parents NICHOLAS RIENZI could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals

Birth, character, and patriotic designs of RIENZI.

and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian; he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language, and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?" When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing Pope Clement VI. and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty, and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment* of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive; he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and the restoration of the *good estate*,† his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching event.

He assumes the government of Rome with the title and office of tribune (A.D. 1347).

§ 12. A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church-door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs; a nocturnal assembly of 100 citizens on Mount Aventine the first step to their execution. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning Rienzi, bare-headed, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the 100 conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to sustain a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right hand; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. Rienzi ascended without opposition the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony, and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. He chose

* A.D. 1344. † *Buono stato* (popular government).

the ancient and modest appellation of tribune; and in this character, and with the consent of the Romans, he enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of the good estate. The tyranny of the nobles was abolished; a standing militia was established for the support of the tribunes and the laws; and the princes and barons, the Colonna and Ursini, Savelli and Frangipani, were compelled to return to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens. Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi.* A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent; patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; and the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tiber. The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast and perhaps visionary idea of uniting Italy in a great federative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue, and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. From every part of Italy the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers; they were followed by the ambassadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the low-born notary could assume the familiar or majestic courtesy of a sovereign. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the secret counsellor, of Rienzi; his writings breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureate of the Capitol maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with some apprehension and advice the most lofty hopes of the permanent and rising greatness of the republic.†

§ 13. While Petrarch indulged these prophetic visions, the Roman hero was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; justice with cruelty, liberality

Vices and folly of Rienzi: his fall and flight (A.D. 1347).

* On Rienzi's government, Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 253 ff.

† The enthusiasm with which Petrarch hailed Rienzi and his subsequent appeal to Charles IV. (§ 17) were due not to his love for the populace (which he detested), but to the longing which he shared with Dante for an Imperial unity which should restore order to Italy and make Rome again the seat of universal dominion. Cf. p. 94, *note*.

with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity. He assumed sonorous and pompous titles;* appeared in public with the pomp and state of royalty; his ambition of the honours of chivalry betrayed the meanness of his birth and degraded the importance of his office; and the levity and insolence which he displayed at the time of his knighthood disgusted his friends and encouraged his foes. Rising from his throne in the church and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice, "We summon to our tribunal Pope Clement, and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome; we also summon the sacred college of cardinals. We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors; we likewise summon all the electors of Germany to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire." Unsheathing his maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" In his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. The nobles entered into a conspiracy against him; their plot was discovered; they were condemned to death, and led to the scaffold. But at this decisive moment Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he dreaded the splendour of their names, their surviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world; and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he had the folly to pardon those whom he made irreconcilable enemies. During some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger rather than of their deliverance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. Rienzi was repulsed in an attack upon Marino; and the barons, encouraged by his failure, attempted to enter Rome by force or surprise. The city was prepared for their reception; the alarm-bell had rung all night; and the barons were overthrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Six of the Colonna were slain; the base and implacable revenge of the tribune denied the honours of burial; and their bodies, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family. The people sympathized in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen.

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and the exile

* He styled himself *Auctore clementissimo Domino Nostro J. Christo Nicholaus, Severus et Clemens, Libertatis Pacis Justiciæque Tribunus et Sacre Romane Reipublice Liberator*; also *Tribunus Augustus*, etc.

of Rienzi. In the pride of victory he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city; and when the tribune proposed in the public council to impose a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted against his measures. The pope and the sacred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions; they were justly offended by the insolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was sent to Italy, and after some fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune was degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy. The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pipin, count of Minorbino, in the kingdom of Naples, introduced himself into Rome at the head of 150 soldiers,* barricaded the quarter of the Colonna, and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but, instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people were silent and inactive; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic (Dec. 15, A.D. 1347).

Revolutions of Rome (A.D. 1347–1354).

§ 14. Without drawing his sword, Count Pipin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate, assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Ursini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detested each other and despised the commons; their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, again rose, and were again demolished; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, says the Florentine historian, by these rapacious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic; the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two senators,

* Pipin, a notorious villain, was in Rome recruiting for the cavalry which Lewis, king of Hungary, was allowed to raise by the terms of his alliance with Rienzi.

Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Ursini was stoned at the foot of the altar.* The dangerous office of tribune was successively occupied by two plebeians Cerroni and Baroncelli; but the latter trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes the faults of Rienzi were forgotten, and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the "good estate."

Adventures of Rienzi.

§ 15. After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer was again restored to his country. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles IV. gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost. Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; he was transported slowly but in safe custody from Prague to Avignon; his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg, and four cardinals were named to inquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But the reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement:* the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the Bible he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

Rienzi, senator of Rome: his death (A.D. 1354).

§ 16. The succeeding pontificate of Innocent VI. (A.D. 1352–1362) opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy with the title of senator. His first reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance† was a public festival, and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people; and after a second administration of four months Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. The *tribune* had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans; the *senator* was the servile minister of a foreign court; and while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. A civil war exhausted his

* Feb. 15, 1353. † August 1.

treasures and the patience of the city; the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. The Capitol was invested by a furious multitude; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead: their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder: the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames * (Oct. 8, A.D. 1354). Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country and the last of the Roman patriots.†

Return of the popes to Rome (A.D. 1377): great schism of the West.

§ 17. The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune to the king of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi when Charles IV. descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and the Imperial crowns. He accepted from the poet-laureate a medal of Augustus and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. But instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he bound himself by a secret treaty with the pope to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard. After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock, to recall the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations

* His corpse was burnt by the Jews, after it had been hung up for two days in the Colonna quarter.

† "Corinne has drawn, with a single stroke, the character of Rienzi, Crescentius, and Arnold of Brescia, the fond restorers of Roman liberty: *qui ont pris les souvenirs pour les espérances*" (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. 418, quoted by Milman). Cf. Bryce's estimate (*op. cit.*, p. 268 f.): "Despite his overweening conceit, and what seems to us his charlatanry, Rienzi was indeed both a patriot and a man of genius, in temperament a poet, filled with soaring ideas. . . . Both friends and enemies seem to have comprehended and regarded as natural his feelings and designs, which were altogether those of his age. Being, however, a mere matter of imagination, not of reason, having no true relation to the world as it then stood, these schemes of republican revival were as transient and unstable as they were quick of growth and gay of colour. As the authority of the popes became consolidated, and free municipalities disappeared elsewhere throughout Italy, the dream of a renovated Rome at length withered and fell and died."

to five successive popes. The first who returned to Rome was Urban V.; but some reasons of public or private moment recalled him to France, after a residence of three years in the Vatican (A.D. 1367–1370); and the memorable change which he had attempted was finally accomplished by Gregory XI. (A.D. 1377). This pontiff did not survive above fourteen months his return to Rome; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. They were intimidated by the shouts and threats of the Romans; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; and had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban VI. During several weeks the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty, till the summer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, maintained that their first choice was an involuntary and illegal act, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement VII., whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. In the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools. From the banks of the Tiber and the Rhone the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword; the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed; and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds; the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic; and the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger. An aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus, king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people; besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a barbarian conqueror; and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome.

End of the schism (A.D. 1418).

§ 18. The patience of the Christian world was at length exhausted by the adverse claims of the rival pontiffs. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon (A.D. 1409); the conclave was unanimous in the choice

of Alexander V., and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John XXIII., the most profligate of mankind. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and conclave were disputed; three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory XII.; and Benedict XIII., himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance (A.D. 1414–1418); the emperor Sigismond acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states-general of Europe. The three popes were compelled to resign, or were deposed; the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave; and the elevation of Martin V. (Nov. 11, A.D. 1417), is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican.

The popes acquire absolute dominion in Rome.

§ 19. The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near 300 years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin V., and his image and superscription introduce the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate successors Eugenius IV. was the last expelled by the tumults of the Roman people, and Nicholas V. (A.D. 1447–1455) the last who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor. Frederic III. was crowned at Rome in A.D. 1452, but his successors excused themselves from the superfluous and toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican, and rested their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany. The last attempt to usurp the temporal government of the city was made by Stephen Porcaro (A.D. 1453), but the political enthusiasm which had exalted Rienzi to the throne conducted his imitator to the gallows. In the following years Rome was distracted by the disorders of the nobles; but the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican. After their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel; the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions; a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope; his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a

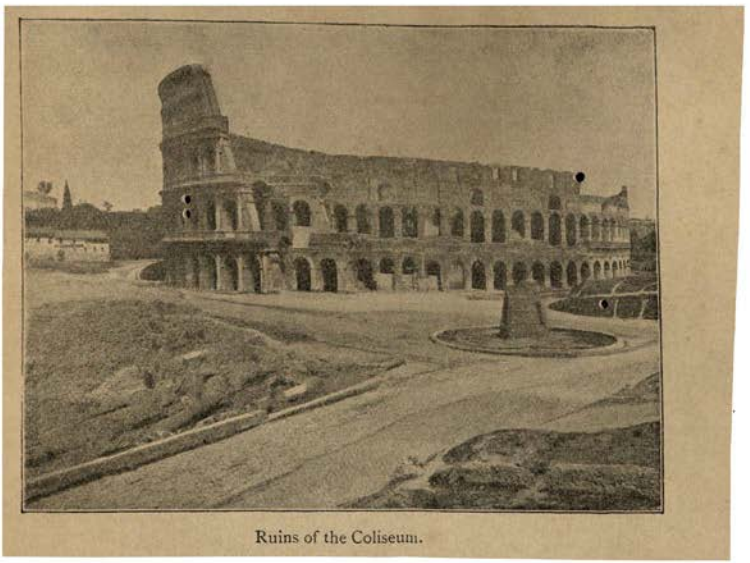
smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

[Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, cc. xv., xvi. ; Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans.), vol. iv. pt. ii. c. iv. ff. (twelfth century) ; vol. v. (thirteenth century) ; vol. vi. (fourteenth century), where other works are referred to.]

APPENDIX.

LIST OF POPES FROM A.D. 1130–1455.

Innocent II.	A.D. 1130–1143	Martin IV.	A.D. 1281–1285
Celestine II.	,, 1143–1144	Honorius IV.	,, 1285–1287
Lucius II.	,, 1144–1145	Nicholas IV.	,, 1288–1292
Eugenius III.	,, 1145–1153	Celestine V.	,, 1294
Anastasius IV.	,, 1153–1154	Boniface VIII.	,, 1294–1303
Hadrian IV.	,, 1154–1159	Benedict XI.	,, 1303–1304
Alexander III.	,, 1159–1181	Clement V.	,, 1305–1314
Lucius III.	,, 1181–1185	John XXII.	,, 1316–1334
Urban III.	,, 1185–1187	Benedict XII.	,, 1334–1342
Gregory VIII.	,, 1187	Clement VI.	,, 1342–1352
Clement III.	,, 1187–1191	Innocent VI.	,, 1352–1362
Celestine III.	,, 1191–1198	Urban V.	,, 1362–1370
Innocent III.	,, 1198–1216	Gregory XI.	,, 1370–1378
Honorius III.	,, 1216–1227	Urban VI.	,, 1378–1389
Gregory IX.	,, 1227–1241	[Clement VII.	,, 1378–1394]
Celestine IV.	,, 1241	Boniface IX.	,, 1389–1404
Innocent IV.	,, 1243–1254	[Benedict XIII.	,, 1394–1417]
Alexander IV.	,, 1254–1261	Innocent VII.	,, 1404–1406
Urban IV.	,, 1261–1264	Gregory XII.	,, 1406–1412
Clement IV.	,, 1265–1268	Alexander V.	,, 1409–1410
Gregory X.	,, 1271–1276	John XXIII.	,, 1410–1415
Innocent V.	,, 1276	Martin V.	,, 1417–1431
Hadrian V.	,, 1276	Eugenius IV.	,, 1431–1447
John XXI.	,, 1276–1277	[Felix V.	,, 1439–1449]
Nicholas III.	,, 1277–1280	Nicholas V.	,, 1447–1455



Ruins of the Coliseum.

CHAPTER XL.

THE RUINS OF ROME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. CAUSES OF DECAY AND DESTRUCTION.

§ 1. Description of the ruins of Rome by Poggius. § 2. Gradual decay of Rome: four causes of destruction. § 3. I. The injuries of nature. § 4. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. § 5. III. The use and abuse of the materials. § 6. IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans. § 7. The COLISEUM or Amphitheatre of Titus. § 8. Restoration and ornaments of the city.

Description of the ruins of Rome by Poggius.

§ 1. THE ruins of Rome in the fifteenth century are minutely described by the learned Poggius,* a servant of Pope Martin V., and one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary to those of classic superstition. 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of Peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *thermæ*, or

* Poggio Bracciolini, the famous Humanist, who had been Papal secretary since A.D. 1404. To him a recent critic sought to attribute the authorship of Tacitus' *Annals*.

public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts; but those of Diocletian and Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian Way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus.* 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp;† the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be lost; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth, and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city; for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included 379 turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

Gradual decay of Rome: four causes of destruction.

§ 2. This melancholy picture was drawn above 900 years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy.‡ A long period of distress and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches had migrated from the banks of the Tiber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. After a diligent inquiry I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The injuries of nature.

§ 3. I. The silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has

* Gallienus' Arch is at the Esquiline Gate.

† The *amphitheatrum castrense*, at the extreme end of the Esquiline, was built for the training of *venatores* and of performing animals.

‡ Poggio's *De Varietate Fortunæ* was written shortly before A.D. 1431.

the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust.* Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death; but two causes may be alleged which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls and massy arches that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger of frequent inundations. Both during the republic and under the empire, the Tiber frequently overturned the buildings on its banks; † and if such were the ravages of the lawless river under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the earth that has been washed down from the hills is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome fourteen and fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level; and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river.

II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians.

§ 4. II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to inquire how far they were animated by an hostile principle, and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire than to abolish the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments were indeed precious: the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth, the Vandals on the fifteenth day; and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the

* There were, however, several violent earthquakes which seriously injured the ancient buildings, *e.g.* in A.D. 422, 508, 1231, 1255, 1349, etc.

† Horace, *Odes*, i. 2. The *curator riparum et alvei Tiberis* was a regular official under the empire.

solid piles of antiquity. We may remember that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric; and that the momentary resentment of Totila was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies.* From these innocent barbarians the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition;† and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.‡

III. The use and abuse of the materials.

§ 5. III. The barbarian conquerors stripped the monuments of Rome of their gold and silver; the less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper; whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon. Charlemagne decorated the new palace of Aix la Chapelle with the marbles of Ravenna and Rome, and Robert, king of Sicily, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tiber and the sea. But these examples of plunder or purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the Campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert far remote from the habitations of mankind. Still the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus V. may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's. A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and

* Rome must have suffered greatly in the sieges sustained during the wars of Belisarius and the Goths; but far more wantonly destructive than the attacks of Goths and Vandals was the sack of the city by Robert Guiscard and the Saracens in his army, and by Charles V. in A.D. 1527.

† They were especially given to overturning statues, cf. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 57 ff.

‡ See Gregorovius, vol. ii. p. 106 ff.; and Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 476 ff.

proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius the temple of Concord and many capital structures had vanished from his eyes; and the smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans.*

§ 6. IV. The most potent and forcible cause of destruction was the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves. In a dark period of 500 years Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Ursini; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses and erecting strong towers that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The first step of the senator Brancaleone in the establishment of peace and justice was to demolish (as we have already seen) 140 of the towers of Rome; and, in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin V., forty-four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines. With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mausoleum, was transformed into a strong and spacious citadel. I need not repeat that the mole of Hadrian has assumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Ursini families; and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege; and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. In comparing the *days* of foreign with the *ages* of domestic hostility, we must pronounce that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city. The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers which were subverted by civil war required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.†

IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

§ 7. These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus,‡ which has obtained the name of the

The COLISEUM or *Amphitheatre of* Titus.

* The destruction of ancient buildings—theatres, temples, courts, baths, etc.—for the sake of building material went on all through the Middle Ages, and must have been a very potent cause of their disappearance. In the eastern parts of the ancient world this quarrying process is going on at the present hour.

† See Gregorovius' description in vol. v. pt. ii. p. 657 ff.

‡ Begun by Vespasian, and dedicated by Titus in A.D. 80. On the Coliseum, Lanciani, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-385.

COLISEUM, either from its magnitude, or from Nero's colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum many holes are discerned; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron,* nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals; the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades.† Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall." In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.

In the fourteenth century a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum;‡ and Poggius laments that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius IV. surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter, long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent. After his death the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of 1612 feet was still entire and inviolate: a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of 108 feet. Of the present ruin the nephews of

* Iron clamps fixed with lead.

† These statements are based on a mistaken inference of Donatus (*Roma vetus et nova*, p. 285).

‡ This, however, refers to the fallen Western half (which collapsed probably during the great earthquake of Sept., A.D. 1349).

Paul III. are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes. A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict XIV., who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs.

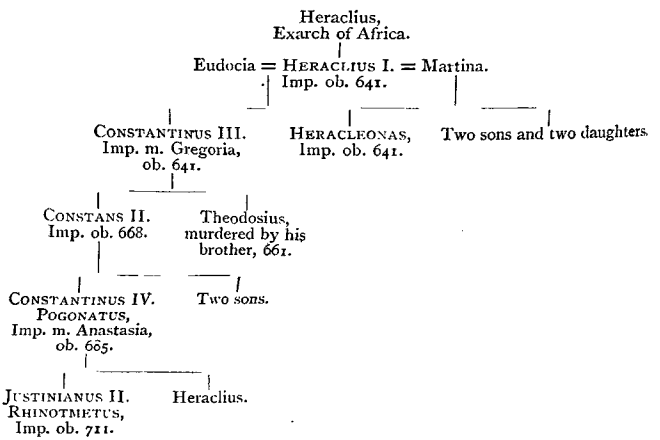
Restoration and ornaments of the city.

§ 8. The peaceful authority of Martin V. and his successors restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude: the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service; and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius II., Leo X., and Sixtus V., is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael Angelo; and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old or of new arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters; and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains to the height of 120 feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student; and the footsteps of heroes, the relics not of superstition but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote and once savage countries of the North.

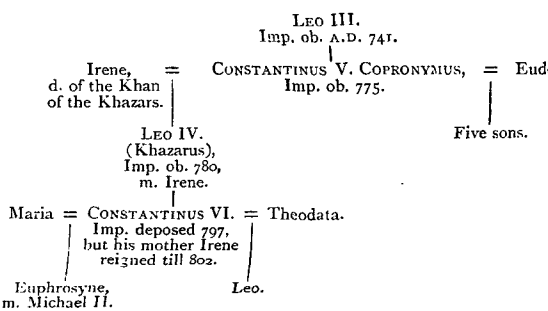
[Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, especially vols. i. p. 57 ff.; iii. p. 529 ff.; iv. pt. ii. p. 682 ff.; v. pt. ii. p. 657 ff.; vi. pt. ii. p. 713 ff.; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome* (1892); R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (1897), and *The Destruction of Ancient Rome: a Sketch of the History of the Monuments* (1901).]

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

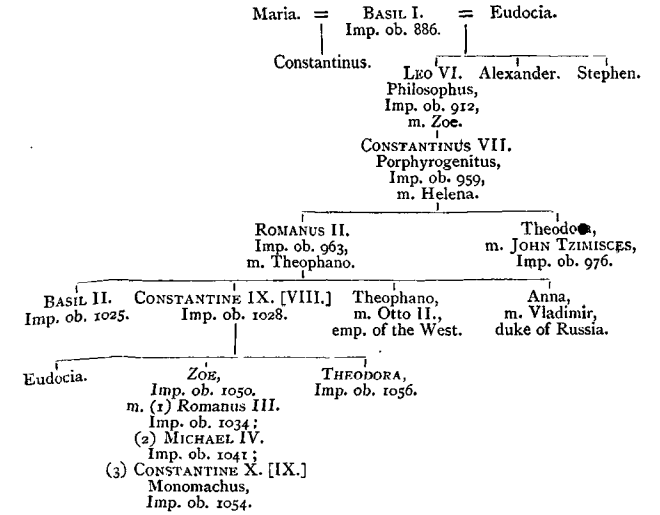
I.—Family of Heraclius.



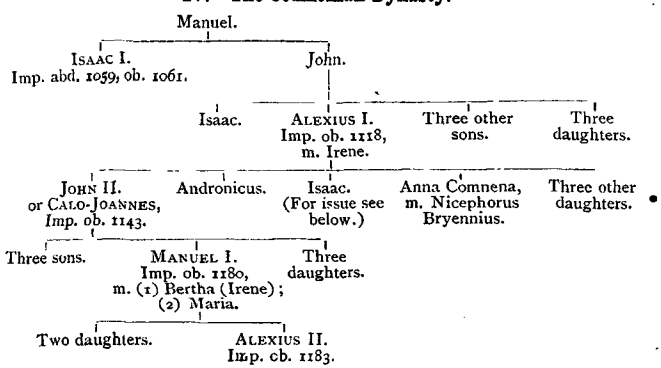
II.—The Isaurian Dynasty.



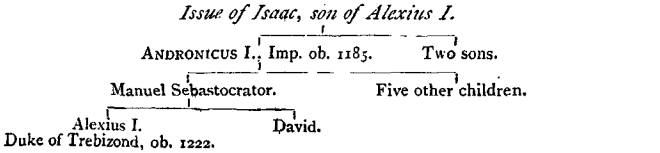
III.—The Basilian Dynasty.


Maria. = Basil I. Imp. ob. 886. = Eudocia.
Constantinus.
Leo VI. Philosophus, Imp. ob. 912, m. Zoe.
Alexander.
Stephen.
Constantinus VII. Porphyrogenitus, Imp. ob. 959, m. Helena.
Romanus II. Imp. ob. 963, m. Theophano.
Theodora, m. John Tzimisces, Imp. ob. 976.
Basil II. Imp. ob. 1025.
Constantine IX. [VIII.] Imp. ob. 1028.
Theophano, m. Otto II., emp. of the West.
Anna, m. Vladimir, duke of Russia.
Eudocia.
Zoe, Imp. ob. 1050. m. (1) Romanus III. Imp. ob. 1034; (2) Michael IV. Imp. ob. 1041; (3) Constantine X. [IX.] Monomachus, Imp. ob. 1054.
Theodora, Imp. ob. 1056.

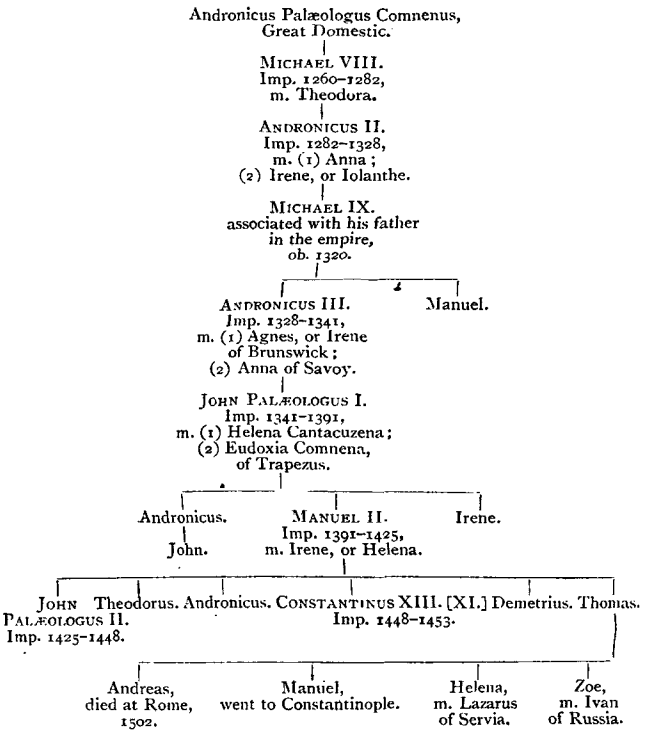
IV.—The Comnenian Dynasty.



Issue of Isaac, son of Alexius I.



V.—Dynasty of the Palæologi.


Andronicus Palæologus Comnenus, Great Domestic.
MICHAEL VIII. Imp. 1260–1282, m. Theodora.
ANDRONICUS II. Imp. 1282–1328, m. (1) Anna; (2) Irene, or Iolanthe.
MICHAEL IX. associated with his father in the empire, ob. 1320.
ANDRONICUS III. Imp. 1328–1341, m. (1) Agnes, or Irene of Brunswick; (2) Anna of Savoy.
Manuel.
JOHN PALÆOLOGUS I. Imp. 1341–1391, m. (1) Helena Cantacuzena; (2) Eudoxia Comnena, of Trapezus.
Andronicus.
John.
MANUEL II. Imp. 1391–1425, m. Irene, or Helena.
Irene.
JOHN PALÆOLOGUS II. Imp. 1425–1448.
Theodorus.
Andronicus.
CONSTANTINUS XIII. [XI.] Imp. 1448–1453.
Demetrius.
Thomas.
Andreas, died at Rome, 1502.
Manuel, went to Constantinople.
Helena, m. Lazarus of Servia.
Zoe, m. Ivan of Russia.

LIST OF EMPERORS.

	A.D.	A.D.
Justin II.		565—578
Tiberius II.		578—582
Mauricius		582—602
Phocas		602—610

HERACLIAN DYNASTY.

Heraclius I.	610—641
Constantine III., also called Heraclius II.	641—641
Heracleonas	641
Constans II.	641—668
Constantine IV. Pogonatus	668—685
Justinian II. Rhinotmetus	685—695
Leontius	695—698
Tiberius Apsimarus	698—705
Justinian II. (again)	705—711
Philippicus	711—713
Anastasius II.	713—716
Theodosius III.	716—717

HOUSE OF LEO.

Leo III. the Isaurian (Syrian)	717—741
Constantine V. Copronymus [Artavasdes, usurper.]	741—775
Leo IV. Khazarus	775—780
Constantine VI.	780—797
Irene	797—802
Nicephorus I.	802—811
Stauracius	811
Michael I. Rhangabe	811—813
Leo V. the Armenian	813—820

AMORIAN DYNASTY.

Michael II. the Stammerer	820—829
Theophilus	829—842
Michael III.	842—867

MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

Basil I.	867—886
Leo VI. the Wise	886—912
Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus [Porphyrogennetus]	912—959
Colleagues :—	
Alexander	912—913
Romanus I. Lecapenus	919—944
[Constantine VIII., Stephanus, sons of Romanus I., reigned five weeks	944]
Romanus II.	959—963
Nicephorus II. Phocas	963—969
Joannes I. Tzimisces	969—976
Basil II. (colleague of Joannes I. from 969 to 976)	976—1025
Constantine IX. [VIII.]* (colleague of Basil II. from 976 to 1025)	1025—1028
Romanus III. Argyrus	1028—1034
Michael IV. Paphlagon	1034—1041
Michael V. Calaphates	1041—1042
Zoe and Theodora	1042
Constantine X. [IX.] Monomachus	1042—1054
Theodora (again)	1054—1056
Michael VI. Stratioticus	1056—1057

COMNENIAN DYNASTY.

Isaac I. Comnenus	1057—1059
Constantine XI. [X.] Ducas	1059—1067
Romanus IV. Diogenes	1067—1071
Michael VII. Ducas (Parapinaces)	1071—1078
Nicephorus III. Botaniates	1078—1081
Alexius I. Comnenus	1081—1118
Joannes II. Comnenus, or Calo-Joannes	1118—1143
Manuel I. Comnenus	1143—1180
Alexius II. Comnenus	1180—1183
Andronicus I. Comnenus	1183—1185

THE ANGELI.

Isaac II. Angelus	1185—1195
Alexius III. Angelus	1195—1203
Alexius IV. Angelus	1203—1204
Alexius V. Ducas (Murtzuphlus)	1204—1204

LATIN EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Baldwin I.	1204—1205
Henry	1206—1216
Peter	1217—1219
Robert	1221—1228
John of Brienne	1228—1237
Baldwin II.	1237—1261

* Constantine, son of Romanus I., enumerated by Gibbon as Constantine VIII., is not usually counted.

GREEK EMPERORS OF NICÆA.

	A.D.	A.D.
Theodorus I. Lascaris ..	1204—	1222
Joannes III. Vatatzes ..	1222—	1254
Theodorus II. Lascaris ..	1254—	1258
Joannes IV. Lascaris ..	1258—	1259
Michael VIII. Palæologus	1259—	1260

GREEK EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AGAIN.

House of Palæologus.

Michael VIII. Palæologus	1261—	1282
Andronicus II. Palæologus	1282—	1328
[Michael IX. Palæologus (associated with Andronicus II. in the empire)]	1295—	1320]
Andronicus III. Palæologus	1328—	1341
Joannes V. Palæologus * ..	1341—	1376
Joannes VI. Cantacuzenus (Opposition - Emperor and colleague)	1341—	1355
Andronicus IV.	1376—	1379
Joannes V. (again)	1379—	1391
Manuel II. Palæologus ..	1391—	1425
Joannes VII. Palæologus †	1425—	1448
Constantine XIII. [XI.]‡ Palæologus	1448—	1453

* Sometimes called John Palæologus I.
† ,, ,, John Palæologus II.
‡ Constantine, son of Constantine Ducas, called by Gibbon Constantine XII. (see p. 64), is not usually enumerated.

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